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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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BRIEFS

CAPTURE OF NUNS BLAMED ON MPLA--Free Land of Angola, 13 Jan (KUP)--The current situation in Angola is one of civil war. The MPLA insists on letting foreigners travel in the war zones, thus increasing the risk of them falling into UNITA ambushes. UNITA has made several appeals to the international community to warn all foreigners of the dangers of travelling or staying in the war zones. The two Brazilian nuns who were captured during a UNITA attack on a Cuban-FAPLA military convoy on 30 December on the Mavengue-Cacula road in Huila Province as a clear example of the above-mentioned dangers. This incident was caused by the MPLA's irresponsibility in refusing to forbid foreigners from travelling in areas where UNITA forces are pursuing MPLA agents. [Text] [(Clandestine) KUP in French to Southern and Central Africa 0600 GMT 13 Jan 86 MB] /12712

UNITA TAKES CREDIT FOR KILLINGS--Lisbon, 13 Jan (EFE)--The anti-government UNITA today took credit in Lisbon for the death of 5 Cuban and 143 Angolan soldiers during the fighting 7-9 January 1986 in Central and Northern Angola. A communique signed by "Chief of the General Staff" Brigadier Alberto Chendovava UNITA said 11 of its own guerrillas were killed in the fighting and that 3 are missing. The most significant guerrilla action occurred on 8 January in the region of Caala, Huambo Province, where two trains were attacked. [Text] [Madrid EFE in Spanish 0250 GMT 14 Jan 86 PA] /12712

COOPERATION COMMISSION TO BE CREATED--Luanda, 16 Jan (ANGOP/PANA)--An Angolan delegation led by Mr Cesar Silva, head of the Africa, Asia, and Latin American Division of the Secretariat of State for Cooperation, is now visiting Bissau where it is having discussions with the Guinea-Bissau authorities concerning the creation of a joint commission of cooperation between the People's Republic of Angola and Guinea-Bissau, it was learned from an official source. It will be recalled that the two countries have already concluded agreements in the fields of air transportation and social communication [communication sociale] and intend to extend their bilateral cooperation to other fields. [Text] [Dakar PANA in French 1145 GMT 16 Jan 86 AB] /12712

CSO: 3400/893

BRIEFS

ANC MEMBERS ARRESTED OVER CHRISTMAS--Gaborone, Jan 11, SAPA--Eleven South African supporters of a liberation movement found to be in Botswana illegally were taken into police custody during the Christmas period, a senior government official said. He said that the illegal immigrants were discovered during routine operations over the holidays. He stressed that the Botswana Government regularly undertook such operations in pursuance of its understanding not to allow Botswana to be used as a base against neighboring countries. It could not be officially determined which liberation movement the men are allegedly said to support. The arrested men would be dealt with according to the law and prosecuted or deported, according to the gravity of their offences in terms of the Botswana law, the official said. He emphasized that the arrests were made before the landmine blast near Stockpoort on the Botswana border. According to unconfirmed reports the eleven men are said to be members of the ANC. [Text] [Johannesburg SAPA in English 1244 GMT 11 Jan 86 MB] /12712

CSO: 3400/890

ERITREAN DELEGATION ENLISTS IRAQI SUPPORT

Baghdad AL-JUMHURIYAH in Arabic 30 Oct 85 p 2

[Article by Husayn Fawzi: "The Aggression Against Iraq Is Support for the Ethiopian-Zionist Aggression"]

[Text] As part of the current preparations to convene the first national conference of the Eritrean Liberation Front, following the completion of political measures and preliminary organizational foundations for the unification of the various segments of the Eritrean revolution, a delegation from the united front organization is visiting the country. The purpose of this visit is to explain the latest developments in the Eritrean sphere.

Mr 'Uthman Salih Sabi heads the Eritrean delegation. In his conversation with AL-JUMHURIYAH, he said that his visit to Baghdad, which stands for Arabism and resistance to Iranian aggression, is part of a tour of Arab countries aimed at increasing the level of material and moral support for the Eritrean revolution. This mission is especially important since the unification of three groups in the Ethiopian revolution--the Revolutionary Committee, the Revolutionary Council, and the Central Office--provides an opportunity for the Arab countries to offer support for the struggle of the masses of the Eritrean people against Ethiopian colonialism.

Mr Sabi expressed his deep sorrow over the continuation of the war of the Iranian regime against the Iraqi people and their ambitious projects of internal construction and activity in the pan-Arab and international arenas. He emphasized that the Iranian war has prevented the continued support of Iraq for the Eritrean revolution, whereas the rulers of Tehran, who declare that they are an Islamic state supporting the oppressed against the colonialist powers, have not moved an inch to help the people of Eritrean, which is comprised of large masses of Muslims in addition to members of the rest of the revealed religions.

He indicated that he hopes that the visit will lead to better opportunities for action to help the cause of the Eritrean people, especially since Dr Tariq 'Aziz has been concerned with the Eritrean question for such a long time. For this reason, Mr Sabi is working to take increasing advantage of Iraq's standing and the personal relationships of its foreign minister to gain additional support, or at least more understanding, of the Eritrean issue.

The head of the united Eritrean delegation noted that the international strategies fall in line against the struggle of Eritrea for the right of self-determination. In the Eritrean arena we find the forces of the West, foremost among them the United States and its instrument, the Zionist entity, supporting the Ethiopian occupation of Eritrean. This is inspired by the West's considerations aimed at maintaining Ethiopian hegemony over our country in an effort to draw Addis Ababa back into alliance with the West. It is also motivated by concern over the dangers of Eritrean independence, which would cause the Red Sea to become a closed Arab lake and close the Arab hand on the Bab al-Mandab Straits as well as the corridors to and from occupied Palestine. Therefore, the western economy continues to support the Haile-Mariam regime.

On the other hand, the East supports the Marxist regime in Addis Ababa and extends military help and some economic aid.

Mr Saqi desired to point out that his information obtained from the PLO revealed to him that the position of the socialist camp on the Eritrean issue is not in complete sympathy with the Ethiopian regime. The East calls for a peaceful solution based on the United Nations decision of 1950, while Mengistu Haile-Mariam also declares that he is working toward a peaceful settlement but masses large military forces to attack the Eritrean people. On every occasion he touches on his pretended desire for a peaceful solution. Moreover, Addis Ababa has tried for its part to employ contacts with the Isayyas Afeworki group as a means of spreading political confusion among the Eritreans. However, the Isayyas Popular Front has been forced for over a year to acknowledge the difficulty of convincing Mengistu Haile-Mariam to pursue any policy other than that of military occupation and the complete hegemony of Addis Ababa over Eritrea.

The head of the united Eritrean organization, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Eritrea, pointed to the necessity of deriving clear lessons from the attempts to negotiate unilaterally with Addis Ababa. He pointed out how the Ethiopian regime tried to isolate the Isayyas group and force it to yield before the process of colonialist usurpation of Eritrea. The experience confirms that any contact with Addis Ababa must be based on the common will of the Eritrean people to achieve the right of self-determination which is their desire. This is because Addis Ababa's concern for its corridors to the sea form an issue that can force it to negotiate given the establishment of an independent Eritrean. The Eritrean people, who have continued fighting over 4 centuries and have lost no less than 200,000 citizens, whose economy has been destroyed, and who have 700,000 refugees in Sudan, believe in the possibility of positive relations with Ethiopia to self-determination. As for the attempts to transfer the experience of the Zionist entity in what is called "local autonomy" to Eritrean, this is completely rejected and can only be resisted by force of arms.

Mr Sabi noted with pleasure that Arab activity through the conferences of the Islamic Conference Organization has had a positive influence in Africa with regard to support of the struggle of the Eritrean people. Whereas the Africans formerly viewed the Eritrean conflict as a separatist movement in conflict with the decision of the OAU concerning the continuity of inherited borders to avoid the instigation of conflicts, 18 African states voted in 1981 in favor of support

for the Eritrean struggle. Moreover, the African Socialist Movement, in which 18 African socialist parties participate, has continuously called for a peaceful solution to the Eritrean problem. Mr Leopold Senghor, leader of this movement, visited Addis Ababa at the beginning of this year and discussed the Eritrean issue with Haile-Mariam.

He added that the leadership of the united organization is working to win the support of the Arab countries and the remaining states of the Third World for efforts aimed at resubmitting the Eritrean issue to the United Nations and adopting a resolution regarding the extent to which Addis Ababa has violated the international agreements issue in 1950 concerning the existence of a confederate union between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Submission of the issue before the United Nations will be an opportunity to reveal the crimes of the empire of Haile Selassie and during the regime of Mengistu Haile-Mariam.

In addition, there is the move to implement the resolution of the third summit conference of the Islamic Conference Organization convened in Ta'if in 1981. The conference adopted a resolution at that time giving Eritrea an observing member seat in the organization. The multiplicity of groups in the revolution prevented Eritrea from enjoying a seat at that time. This prompted the Islamic organization to encourage the Eritrean groups to unify themselves as a condition for occupying a seat so that the observing member would be a representative of all of Eritrea, and not just one segment of it.

Mr 'Abd-al-Qadir Kilan, second deputy to the head of the united Eritrean organization, pointed out in his remarks that the Eritrean revolution is convinced of the existence of an organic relationship between the whole Arab activist movement and the capabilities of the Eritrean people to confront aggression. Under the wave of conspiracy against the revolution in Palestine and Iraq, with colonialism and Zionism and racism in Tehran waging a widespread war against the Palestinian resistance and the masses of the Iraqi people, the Eritrean revolution feels that this climate serves the intentions of the rulers in Addis Ababa to gain time in an attempt to subjugate the Eritrean people and destroy the will of the nationalist resistance.

Proceeding from this point, he added that the Arab countries and their masses are calling for a position completely free from the conspiracies that are devised against their struggling forces in Iraq and Palestine. Moreover, the indecision in the position of certain Arab rulers on the Iraqi-Iranian war, which results in proclamations that view Iraq and Iran as equals, must be brought to an end. Iraq is an Arab country facing aggression, and the most basic requirement of pan-Arab solidarity is support for the Iraqi people and its leadership in deterring this aggression. The Arab position in support of Iraq is an issue that enjoys the broadest framework of legal requirements, for the charter of the Arab League and the Joint Arab Defense Pact both explicitly stipulate that all Arabs must help any Arab country defend its national soil.

Mr Kilan inferred that the wave of aggression against the Arab nation will continue, because some of the Arab countries are incapable of realizing or refuse to realize the fact that the lack of joint resistance to any aggression

means a multiplicity of cases of aggression against the Arab nation from a number of places. As President Saddam Husayn has said, when the Arab countries defend themselves jointly and take measures gainst aggression and those who support it, this makes the international forces--particularly in Washington--think carefully before they strike any Arab country.

At the conclusion of their remakrs, Mr Sabi and Mr Kilan issued an appeal to the peoples of the world, and particularly the humanitarian organizations, to offer aid to the people of Eritrea in their struggle against the ordeal of drought on top of the tragedy of waging a defensive war against the Ethiopian war machine, which possesses the latest weapons for collective killing.

8591

CSO: 3404/2

GOVERNMENT CONDEMNS GHANA DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 11 Dec 85 p 5

[Text] The Office of the Political Counsellor for CDRs, has condemned the activities of the London-based reactionary opposition group, Ghana Democratic Movement (GDM), aimed at derailing the on-going Revolutionary process.

A statement issued in Accra yesterday and signed by Mr Nat Tanoh, on behalf of the Political Counsellor, Col. J. Y. Assasie, said Mr J. H. Mensah, leader of the so-called opposition group has no other purpose than to fulfil his repeated pledge to oust the current process.

The statement, which was re-acting to the arrest in the United States (US), of certain high officials of the so-called group involved in the purchase and attempted smuggling of a large quantity of arms to be used in the overthrow of the PNDC.

The statement said: "Let us assure those Ghanaian stooges of imperialism and their local allies and agents that any open or hidden attempts to overthrow this process would be ruthlessly crushed and stamped out by the combined forces of progress in this country."

The statement called on all patriots, militants, progressives and other cadres; and all those committed to the country's struggle to overcome poverty, disease and deprivation, not to sit back while these agents of doom attempt to wrestly our nationhood from us, it said.

It said for militants, this event underlines the overwhelming importance of the need for continuous revolutionary vigilance.

Any complacency on the part of the forces of progress leading to the lowering of the security guard, the statement said, will cost the nation dearly.

The statement stated: "We take this opportunity to re-affirm our support for the leadership of this process on the eve of the 4th Anniversary of December 31" cautioning that "whilst not against the PNDC's reconciliation policy, we are against the alarming interpretations some are giving to it."

The statement further cautioned against any form of reconciliation that tilts the balance of forces in favour of those who are objectively against the interests of the working people.

"We are also against any such policy that seeks to protect the local allies and direct representation of imperialism. Let this process not be derailed by our complacency. Future generations will not forgive us," the statement admonished.

On the country's immediate eastern and western border neighbours that is, Togo and Ivory Coast and other professed friendly nations particularly the United Kingdom (UK), the statement urged them to desist from allowing their territories to be used as springboard for destabilisation activities in Ghana.

Such an accommodation on their part, the statement said, cannot be seen in any other light than the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the sovereignty of the people of Ghana.

The Office of the Political Counsellor for the CDRs expressed its regret at the fact that the US also a professed friend of Ghana, made no attempt to alert the appropriate authorities in Ghana about the subversive activities of these elements.

This, the statement explained, definitely does not constitute an act of friendship.

According to the norms of international law, notwithstanding, the statement called on the PNDC to request the extradition of these criminal traitors for trial in Ghana.

"We salute our valiant brothers in the intelligence services and the People's Armed Forces for their ever-vigilant and ready state to protect our Revolution", the statement said.

/9274

CSO: 3400/885

OPEN LETTER DESCRIBES NATIONAL SERVICE PROBLEMS

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 20 Dec 85 p 3

[Text] Dear Mr Director,

First of all, I wish to apologise for the manner in which I am reaching you. A personal letter would have been more like it. But considering the nature of the topic (it concerns all national servicemen) I feel that a letter through the media would be more appropriate. Moreover, this medium is more likely to evoke some response from you.

I must first congratulate you on the good work you have been doing so far. I am sure you will be the first person to agree with me that the National Service Scheme of which you are director, is a very laudable one.

You therefore might have been very happy about the series of editorial that appear in the "Ghanaian Times" some weeks ago praising the way and manner in which the scheme was being organised.

In fact, the editorials painted so glowing a picture that one is tempted to believe that the scheme was being run smoothly without the slightest hitch in the very well-oiled machinery that was in control.

I myself, am in no doubt that the scheme if properly organised would be a good one. Having been a national serviceman for one year, (I am in my second year) has taught me certain lessons I could not have learnt anywhere else.

In the first place, even before you start the national service, you start facing problems with the postings. One would have thought that the posting of personnel would be done scrupulously and fairly. But whilst certain people's requests to be posted to certain organisation are refused (I was a victim), others requests are readily complied with.

Having posted a national serviceman, however, one would expect that you would do all in your power to ensure that no matter where he is posted, a serviceman would be satisfied with his work.

More often than not however, there is nothing for him to do where he has been "forcibly" posted.

The system has been plagued with a lot of problems which tend to outweigh its merits. I will dwell on only one main one.

September

Mr Director, do you know that as at the time I am writing this letter, I am yet to receive my national service allowance for the month of September 1985? (This letter was written on November 3, 1985) and the situation persists. What is worse, we do not even know when, if ever, the allowance will be ready for payment.

Despite the fact that I have completed my first year of national service, I must confess that I have absolutely no idea exactly when servicemen are paid.

Ever since I started my national service in November last year, I have never, repeat never, received my allowance at the end of the month for which it is due.

Normally, the earliest we are paid is about 10th to 15th of next month--if we are lucky! And yet, according to my appointment letter, I am supposed to be paid my allowance at the end of every month.

As a result of all these therefore, the national service is regarded by most servicemen as a poor exercise. Imagine a person who has worked through the months of September and October and is yet to receive his September far less his October allowance.

Mr Director, like I said earlier, it is not that I doubt your managerial capabilities--far from it. It is only that certain things seem to be happening which goes to a long extent in demoralising those on national service and I thought it necessary to bring these problems to your attention.

And what better time than now when a new batch of people are just about starting their national service. Maybe, the problems are no fault of yours. (But who else can I complain to?). After all the National Service Scheme lives on Government subvention and would have to apply for the money needed to pay every month. This certainly would take some time. The only problem is that other organisations that also live on subvention are always able to pay their workers promptly at the end of every month so I do not see why the same cannot be the case in your organisation.

Posting

Or perhaps, we are not workers, so to speak? If this cannot be the case then may I suggest that every organisation be made to pay its own national servicemen thus enabling you to devote more of your precious time to more pressing issues such as the posting of personnel so that it does not happen that a graduate in physics is sent to the Physiology Department of the Medical School!!

Though the names are similar, they are two entirely different courses and it would do no one any good if people are posted to the wrong jobs.

Youths faithfully,
A Concerned Serviceman.

TAX COLLECTION RECEIPTS EXCEED EXPECTED TARGET

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 20 Dec 85 p 1

[Article by Wendy Asiama]

[Text] Tax collection in the country has improved tremendously due to certain measures introduced by the central government to make it obligatory for all income generating businesses and institutions to pay taxes to government to finance its development projects and to meet other expenditures.

As at November 30 this year, the Central Revenue Department (CRD) had exceeded its tax collection target of 6.7 billion cedis under the 1985 budget by 500 million cedis. The department had collected 7.2 billion cedis.

Disclosing this in an interview with the "Graphic" in Accra yesterday, Mr A. D. Kra, Commissioner of Income Tax said the department however expects to collect a total of 8.1 billion cedis by the end of the year, thus exceeding the stipulated target by 1.4 billion cedis.

Mr Kra attributed this achievement of his office to the public education campaign with the slogan, "Pay your taxes" mounted by the department, mobility as well as the recent exercise mounted by a special task force of the CRD to demand tax certificates from business houses.

Under the 1984 budget, the CRD was charged by the government to collect taxes to the tune of 2.7 billion cedis and they collected 4.2 billion cedis thus exceeding the set target by 1.7 billion cedis.

He said with the provision of more vehicles for the department, officials of the CRD are able to identify all those who are self-employed and eligible for the payment of taxes.

The Commissioner was hopeful that by early 1986 every district of the department will be allocated a vehicle for their operations to enable them to cover a wider area in search for those who in the past succeeded in escaping the tax net.

/9274

CSO: 3400/886

FINANCE MINISTER DISCUSSES ECONOMY, DEBT FINANCING

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 7, 8 Jan 86

[Excerpts from a press conference by Kwesi Botchway, secretary of Economic Planning, held at Information Services Department in Accra on 3 Jan 86]

[7 Jan 86 p 3]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen,

In accordance with our usual practice, we propose to provide a detailed review of economic performance in 1985 in this year's budget statement.

Today, this first working day of the year 1986, I would like to review the highlights of economic performance over the past year--achievements and setbacks--are to outline the broad framework of the medium-term programme for 1986-88 which the government will shortly be launching for public discussion.

Real GDP growth is estimated to have reached the target of 5.3 % in 1985 following a real rise to 7.6% in 1984, with agriculture expanding by 3.9% and industry by 13.7%, while inflation is estimated to have dropped from 40% in 1984 to about 12% in 1985 as against a projected rate of 20%.

Exports

This is one of the lowest rates of inflation recorded in the economic history of this country since the mid-seventies.

Although the projected increase in the dollar value of exports and imports did not reach set targets largely on account of a fall in world prices of our main exports and lower than projected disbursements from commitments of external financing respectively, exports still rose in dollar value terms by 8% from \$566 million (f.o.b.) in 1984 to \$613 million (f.o.b.) in 1985 (as against a decline of about 4.7 in 1971-82) while imports rose from \$616 million in 1984 to \$727 million in 1985.

Total foreign exchange resources for 1985 including our own resources, inflows of private and official loans/transfers and IMF drawings amounted to \$1,342, an increase of 19% over 1984's figure of \$1,129 million. Our own

contribution to total foreign exchange availability during 1983-5 has increased steadily from 45% of total foreign exchange resources to nearly 50% in 1985.

But this still means that we are not earning enough foreign exchange from our exports to cover our normal import requirements.

At the sector level, the transport sector continued to show noticeable improvement in 1985, thanks to increased importation of vital inputs. This, coupled with increased availability of fuel has considerably improved transport services. For those who are tempted to gainsay these improvements in transportation it is important to note that the turnaround has been made possible in part by substantial expenditure in foreign exchange. Crude oil payments for current and past supplies and energy related expenditures consumed about half of our total export earnings of \$610 million in 1985.

The transport and communications sector has been allocated over \$150 million in the last three years. The rehabilitation of the 242 km western railway has cost approximately \$46 million so far. Tyres, spare parts and batteries have consumed about \$41 million since 1983.

For the rehabilitation of the Takoradi and Tema ports, we have already spent \$8 million and propose to spend at least a further \$76 million over the next three years. The improvements in the transportation system can thus hardly be taken for granted. I have already made reference to improvement in other sectors notably agriculture and industry.

But despite these achievements, the ERP has suffered from grave limitations particularly in management, organisation, and implementation of complementary programmes intended to enable the realisation of the macro-economic targets, both in the economic and social sectors.

These limitations have meant a slower improvement than we projected when we initiated the program in 1983, and certainly in relation to the potential. The limited successes have at best laid the foundation for improved performance over the medium-term.

Any medium-term programme will therefore depend, for its success on: (a) a major effort at improved organisation, management and implementation of key economic programmes, particularly those relating to exports, and utilisation, imports, health and education programmes and redeployment among others:

In spite of steady improvements in budgetary performance, government accounts still exhibit fundamental structural weaknesses. For example, although we have since 1983 managed to at least break even on current account, and although in 1985 we reduced the share of current expenditure in total expenditure from 82.6% to 75.3%, the point is that even in 1985 we spent £75 out of every £100 on current expenditure particularly on wages, salaries, allowances and pensions (over 30%), travelling and transport expenses, general expenditure, maintenance and repairs, institutional feeding, drugs and dressings etc. (about 25%).

Tragedy

A full £61 out of every £100 we spent under the national budget was spent on the non-developmental expenditures of the various ministries, while development expenditure proper took up 16.5% and lending to state corporations intended for productive purposes accounted for about 8%.

The real tragedy on our national situation is that we are not mobilising enough domestic resources for development and the little we are mobilising through revenues, we are squandering mostly on wasteful and unproductive expenditure.

The public sector wage and salary bill jumped up from £5 billion in 1984, to £11.4 billion in 1985.

At least 20% of this increased bill or over £2 billion is dished out to idle hands. In the parastatal sector, various and sundry allowances add up on the average of a full 85-90% of basic pay.

In the Social Security and National Insurance Trust--the institution that looks after workers' money, allowances paid to just over 3,000 employees come to almost 200% of salaries. About £80,000 is spent annually on each employee.

For the period January to October 1985 for example, the SSNIT paid £74.2 million in salaries and a hefty £142.6 million in allowances and benefits to employees: that is, allowances and benefits came to about 192% of basic pay for the period! And yet about 30% of these well paid custodians of workers' money hardly do any work.

Constraint

Even the little we spend on development expenditure is not always spent productively, for much of it is spent on shoddy constructional works, buildings that are as forbidding aesthetically as they are wasteful from a functional point of view.

Another major budgetary constraint is the low level of tax revenue as percentage of GDP. In 1970-71 the ratio of tax revenue to GDP was 18.6%. By 1983 it had fallen to 4.4%.

Even with a modest increase of 6.5% in 1984 and a projected 8.3% in 1985, this is still among the lowest tax/GDP ratios in Africa. A major programme of institutional reform in the revenue collection agencies together with a reform of the tax structure will be required to enable us achieve our medium term revenue growth targets.

In the sectors, the impact of development expenditure is reduced by a pervasive lack of imagination and creativity in design and construction, thanks to the abiding faith of our architects and engineers in concrete boxes and louver blades, not to mention outright malfeasance. Production remains largely

untouched by the fruits of local research. We still produce garri the same way we did centuries ago.

The same goes for fufu, kenkey, etc. With our balance of payments, the major problems are of a micro nature. Problems of management, supervision, discipline in the workplace, are hindering the realisation of the full potential of the financial incentives provided under the ERP for the export sector.

Our debt servicing problem has not been aggravated in the last three years by imprudent borrowing. New borrowing over the period has been mostly on grant or soft loan terms.

Notable exceptions have been our drawings from the IMF amounting to some \$600 million (from 1983 to end 1985) which are medium term and relatively expensive compared to long-term loans from the International Development Association wing of the World Bank and loans for crude oil imports. Without repayments to the IMF and amortisation of oil credits, our debt service ratio will be in the region of about 12% of the average for the 1986-88 period.

With these payments the ratio rises to over 60% on the average. Clearly therefore, a critical dimension of our medium-term recovery programme will have to be the way we remove the micro problems in the way of export expansion.

Medium term objectives and policies:

Against the background of the above-mentioned problems, the fundamental objectives of macroeconomic policies over 1986-88 will be to consolidate and build upon the gains already made by such policies in promoting growth, price stability and an incentive structure geared towards efficient production.

The major macro-economic objectives, which are subject to further refinement, are:

--GDP growth of about 5 per cent per annum implying an increase of at least 1.5 per cent per annum in per capita incomes:

--the inflation rate declining from about 20 to below 15 percent by 1988;

--revenue growth based upon a reformed tax structure and significant administrative changes that will increase the revenue GDP ratio from 10 per cent in 1985 to about 14 per cent in 1988;

--total expenditures are expected to increase from 15 to about 22 per cent of GDP by 1988, entailing a recurrent expenditure share of about 11 per cent throughout and an increase in the share of development expenditure from about 5 per cent to about 11 per cent by 1988, with the distribution of these expenditures being based on a recently completed assessment of public expenditure priorities in the recurrent areas, and of a "core" three-year public investment programme;

--the investment ratio increases from 10 to about 17 per cent of GDP, with the share of domestic savings rising from about 5 to about 10 per cent of GDP by 1988, and foreign savings averaging about 7 per cent over the period;

--Significant export growth aimed at increasing the export/GDP ratio from about 10 to about 19 per cent of GDP, while the import/GDP ratio increases from about 15 to about 25 per cent of GDP.

The process of sustaining the recovery effort with the objective of securing rising living standards over the medium-term would require major policy actions aimed at:

--a continuation of the judicious macro-economic policy initiatives of the ERP, including prudent fiscal and monetary policies, a flexible trade and exchange rate policy, financial sector reforms, revenue mobilization efforts and a clearly defined set of public expenditure policies;

--a renewed focus on policy reforms in the key productive sectors in agriculture, energy, industry complemented by a renewed emphasis on the major social sectors of education and health, and a growing focus on improved welfare of vulnerable groups, including the rural poor;

--a restructuring of the relative roles of the public and private sectors, in part through improved wages and employment policies, state enterprise reforms, and an improved overall incentive structure;

--Significant improvements in the implementation of policies and programs through (iii) above, as well as through a restructuring of the institutional framework for planning and project implementation, and improved procedures and resources for key areas such as, aid utilization, credit allocation and import programming, etc., and a more selective reliance on the use of administrative controls;

--continued external assistance--both bilateral and multilateral--to provide the underpinnings for the continuing recovery of debt-service obligations bunched up in the coming few years and arising from past and recent borrowings.

[8 Jan 86 p 3]

[Text] The policy actions to be undertaken over the 1986-88 period must be seen within the context of the longer-term aims of the ERP, namely the Development of an efficient, self-reliant and increasingly integrated economy in which living standards of the average Ghanaian are progressively raised through increased production.

In this regard, over the medium-term (the next three to seven years), economic policies would aim at increasing living standards by about 2.0 percent per annum. To achieve this will involve structural adjustments in many sectors of the economy.

Agricultural growth would average at least four per cent over the decade. An efficient industrial sector would have emerged from the restructuring of industry that is to be encouraged through industrial and trade policy.

A buoyant and self-sustaining export sector will be established through appropriate institutional and incentive trade policy initiatives with traditional exports playing a major but decreasing role while non-traditional exports increase their relative share.

The degree of efficient integration between agricultural and industrial activities will need to be reformed and considerably enhanced. A major study of the public sector has been completed and will form the basis of a restructuring of the state enterprise sector. The education sector will be put on a sound footing, with improved quality of education at all levels, but much greater emphasis on primary education and functional literacy relative to the recent past, and on science and technical education relative to the arts.

Growth

In the health sector, the foundations of a viable primary health care (PHC) system will be consolidated, with a carefully designed referral system aimed at efficient medical delivery. And throughout the period, macro-economic management should achieve growth within the context of increased price stability.

Ladies and gentlemen, you will notice that the emphasis in our medium term programme is on the real sectors of our economy--on more efficient implementation at the sectoral level, for without this the financial incentives will inflict costs without the desired levels of output improvement.

Finally, an important feature of the medium-term programme of interest to Donors is that it has to be supported by average annual Official Development Assistance (ODA) commitments of \$633 million.

However, the structure of overall external participation would need to change with the relative share of bilateral concessional assistance increasing as that of multi-lateral agencies declines.

Equally important, two-thirds of the new commitments would have to be in the form of fast disbursing programmes and commodity aid. Here, we will concentrate on the immediate issues pertaining to ODA requirements for 1986.

Levels

The growth objectives of the ERP necessitate substantially stepped-up import growth in 1986, both to compensate for the inadequate levels of 1985, and to meet increased import demand underlying the GDP growth target. In particular we need to speed up imports of raw materials, and selected capital goods to expand capacity utilization in industry.

Accordingly, import requirements to support the recovery programme and to meet other national needs are estimated at \$875 million, an increase of 20 per cent over the relatively low levels of 1985. Export receipts are projected at \$705 million, an increase of 16 per cent as commodity prices are unlikely to recover. This leaves a trade deficit of \$170 million.

Ghana's payments obligations in respect of long and medium-term official debt (\$408 million), planned arrears reduction (\$60 million) and net obligations of all other payments and inflows (\$83 million) will amount to \$551 million. Together with the trade deficit on merchandise account, the inflows required in 1986 amount to \$721 million.

Ghana can barely afford to borrow the needed \$145 million on commercial terms and will attempt to marshal supplementary medium-term resources of \$41 million partly to offset negative net transfers to the IMF. This leaves a gap of \$535 million to be financed by ODA on concessional terms, as compared to an estimated \$288 million disbursed in 1985.

Ghana's ODA need of \$535 million on a disbursement basis may seem large at first glance but the implied increase on a net basis is rather modest. Net inflows in 1985 amounted to a meagre \$199 million, as official receipts (including \$288 million of ODA) amounted to \$606 million, while payments on account of amortization interest and arrears amounted to \$407 million.

The relatively sharp rise in ODA disbursements in 1986 will result in a net official inflow of \$253 million, about the same as in 1984. The low level of net inflows in 1985 exerted great strain on the execution of the ERP.

Disbursements as a proportion of undisbursed balances and new commitments amounted to 35 per cent in 1984 and 31 per cent in 1985. This disbursement record will need to be significantly improved. Consequently, the Government has instituted several measures to eliminate factors both internal and external which contribute to slow disbursements.

The appropriate machinery for speeding up the processing of loan and credit documents is now in place. In fact, credits and grants processed in 1985 far exceeded those processed in 1984.

Residual bottlenecks in import licensing are being removed. Donors can also help by further simplifying their own procedures and processes.

They can also help by expanding quick disbursing programme and commodity aid in preference to project aid. A factor that contributed to slow disbursements in 1985 was the overly large share of project aid in the new commitments.

In order to give the needed boost to imports, Donors should significantly raise the share of quick disbursing programme and commodity aid.

Given the above mentioned measures, we are confident that we can raise the ratio of disbursements to the total pipeline to 43 per cent (53 per cent for undisbursed balance and 33 per cent for new commitments). On this basis, new commitments of \$600 million in 1986 translate into disbursements of \$514 million.

This compares with \$465 million committed in 1985. The requested commitments would be best aligned with the ERP if it is composed of \$200 million in project aid, \$300 million in programme aid and \$100 million in commodity aid, with \$200 million of total ODA given in the form of grants.

A major factor that has compounded Ghana's need for expanded assistance on concessional terms is the heavy burden of servicing our debt. In 1986, debt service will consume two-thirds of Ghana's total exports of goods and services.

Payments

Debt relief has been provided by the United Kingdom Government by waiving from April 1985 loan payments due each year under certain loans. This amounts to a relief of £51 million in past debts. Ghana's debt burden would be eased somewhat if more Governments were to follow the United Kingdom example.

The expected commitment level of \$600 million and the expected disbursement level of \$535 million in 1986 call for concerted efforts on the part of both the Government and the Donors. The Government will implement the medium-term economic policy package effectively and do what is necessary to speed up aid disbursements, while the Donors on their part will need to take a bold stand to support the ERP through increased commitments and faster disbursements.

In this way net inflows as a proportion of gross inflows will be slightly raised to 35 per cent over their 1985 level of 33 per cent.

Although there are other ways of keeping this ratio at 35 per cent, they would need to involve measures such as increased multilateral medium-term assistance, naturally agreed reprogramming of arrears reduction, increased grants through debt relief or debt rescheduling, etc., all of which will need to aim at ensuring that the current account, savings and fiscal gaps in the ERP are indeed fully supplemented by external assistance.

To allow the net inflow ratio to decline in 1986, unfortunately, would not be consistent with a programme of economic recovery.

Over 1986-88, the ERP will need to break out of the mould of the past, and unleash the productive potential of the economy. Only in this way will a sustainable basis for continuously improving living standards for the average Ghanaian be achieved.

Policy actions aimed at this vision will form the core of the ERP. The monitoring of programme performance will have to be seen beyond the much needed policing to improving our organisational and management capabilities and the heightening of the political consciousness of our working people through a systematic programme of political education.

The ultimate vision is to create a structure of social relations that will give the freest possible reign to the development of our productive forces. We hope, through the development of these productive forces, rather than through utopian proclamations, to liberate the creativity and initiative of our people, and to lift their cultural level by creating the material conditions for a systematic assault on poverty, illiteracy and disease.

Within the bounds of our history, we face constraints we shoulder limitations, but our vision must fashion the tools to break free. The necessary process of first creating national wealth and then enjoying its fruits requires clear policies and programmes for transforming our environs into vital centres of production and ensuring the efficient provision of basic social services. These are not easy tasks.

Attempts

The African continent is littered with many varied attempts and dismal failures. The international recession and its accompanying burden of deteriorating terms of trade coupled with high debt-service requirements make the task even more difficult.

But we have already made significant strides under the ERP. The foundations of a strong, resilient, efficient, more self-reliant and increasingly integrated economy are in the process of being laid. The international community economy has recognized our efforts and supported us with significant inflows of external capital.

And the enthusiasm of our people must be properly mobilized as the basic energizing force of our economic recovery. In the final analysis, the ERP's success will rest on the internal dynamism of our social formation and the effective mobilization of our people.

But adequate external assistance and steady improvement in the international economic environment will be crucial.

To forge the necessary complementarity between our internal mobilization effort on the one hand and the form and magnitude of external assistance on the other, is the challenge we face over the coming years.

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CSO: 3400/877

FINANCE MINISTER DISCUSSES GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 3 Jan 86 pp 1, 4/5

[Article by Wendy Asiama]

[Text] Ghana recorded a growth of 5.3 per cent in her Gross Domestic Product (GDP) at the end of the fiscal year ending December 31, 1985.

This was 2.3 per cent short of previous growth of 7.6 per cent recorded in 1984.

Despite this shortfall, agriculture expanded by 3.9 per cent and industry by 13.7 per cent with inflation droppping from 40 per cent in 1984 to about 1.2 per cent in 1985 as against a projected rate of 20 per cent for the year.

Describing the drop in inflation as one of the lowest rates in the country's economic history since the 1970s. Dr Kwesi Botchwey, Secretary for Finance and Economic Planning attributed this turnabout in the economic performance to the pursuance of sound economic policies of the government.

Dr Botchwey who was reviewing the performance of the economy at a press conference in Accra yesterday said even though the dollar value of exports and imports did not reach set targets due to a fall in world prices of the country's main exports exports rose in dollar value by eight per cent or 566 million dollars in 1984 to 610 million dollars in 1985.

Dr Botchwey however stated that imports rose from 616 million dollars in 1984 to 727 million last year with total foreign exchange resources including those from the country's resources, inflows of private and official loans, transfers and International Monetary Fund (IMF) drawings amounting to 1,342 million dollars for the same year from the 1984 figures.

He said the country's contribution to this total foreign exchange availability for the year of the recovery programme, 1983 to 1985, increased from 45 per cent of total foreign exchange resources to nearly 50 per cent at the end of the first phase in 1985 and said the country is still not earning enough foreign exchange from her exports to cover her import requirements.

The transport sector, the Finance and Economic Planning Secretary said, showed noticeable improvement due to the injection of vital inputs and the availability of fuel.

Dr Botchwey said crude oil payments for current and past supplies in 1985 came to 610 million dollars representing about half of the country's total export earnings.

He said under the ERP the government has been allocated over 150 million dollars in the last three years.

Rehabilitation of the 242 kilometers of the Western Railway Line cost almost 46 million dollars while the ministry spent 43 million dollars to bring in tyres, batteries and spare parts while on port rehabilitation, he said eight million dollars has so far been spent with a further 76 million dollars to be spent in the next three years.

He said the government's Economic Recovery Programme (ERP) suffered from grave limitation thus slowing the desired growth it was meant to achieve in the economic and social sectors of the economy for the period it was launched three years ago.

The limitations were particularly marked in management, organisation and implementation of complementary programmes, he stated.

The limited successes at the end of its first phase, Dr Botchwey said have laid the foundation for improved performance over the medium term programme whose success he said would depend to a great extent on improved organisation, management and implementation of key economic programmes in those areas related to exports, aid utilisation, imports, health, education programmers and redeployment etc.

Commenting on the government's expenditure, the Secretary said despite the steady improvement in budgetary performance, government accounts still exhibit fundamental weaknesses.

He said in 1983 the government managed to break even in current account while last year they reduced the share of current expenditure during the same period from 82.6 per cent in 1983 to 75.3 per cent in 1985.

In 1985, the PNDC, he said spent £75 out of every £100 on current expenditure on wages, salaries, allowances and pensions, travelling and transport expenses, general expenditure, maintenance and repairs, institutional feeding, drugs and dressing.

In addition to this £61 out of every £100 spent under the national budget was spent on the non-developmental expenditures of various ministries, while development expenditure took up to 16.5 per cent and lending to state corporations intended for productive purposes accounted for about 8 per cent. He said the public sector wage and salary bill jumped from £5 billion in 1984 to £11.4 billion in 1985 and stated that 20 percent of this amount which comes to about £2 billion was dished out to idle hands.

UNION LEADER CALLS FOR BETTER LABOR RELATIONS IN AFRICA

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 4 Jan 86 p 4/5

[Article by George Amosah]

[Text] Mr. A. K. Yankey, Secretary-General of the Trades Union Congress (TUC) has called for better labour relations on the African continent to enable African countries to cope with development problems confronting the continent.

He said labour relations atmosphere in a given country has a direct bearing on productivity and therefore a critical influence on the rate of a country's economic growth.

That is why in Africa where there is so much need for successful and sustained economic growth for improved standards of living, the co-operation of employers, and workers is so essential to promote better labour relations, he added.

The TUC Secretary-General was speaking on the topic, "Towards Better Labour Relations in Africa" at the closing session of the weeklong 8th International Leadership Development seminar of the International Association of Students of Economics and Management (AIESEC) at the University of Ghana, Legon on Thursday night.

Mr Yankey said to have better labour relations, it is necessary to follow the principle of Free Collective Bargaining between workers and employers' organisations and to set up a high-powered tripartite committee with executive powers to review periodically minimum wages and decide on matters concerning prices and incomes.

A criterion for the determination of minimum wage, he said, should be that the minimum wage takes into account the worker and his family.

Furthermore, remunerations should be based on time rates and should be high enough to make it unnecessary for employees to do overtime to increase their earnings to the detriment of their health, he added.

Mr Yankey further noted that since the economies of African countries are exposed to world price fluctuations, a situation which calls for urgent steps to expand and diversify production, the luxury of labour unrest cannot be afforded. About 55 delegates from eight countries attended the seminar.

THREE PORT AGENCIES SLATED FOR MERGER

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 19 Dec 85 pp 1, 5

[Article by George Amosah]

[Text] The government is considering a merger of the three main state agencies operating at the country's ports, informed sources have disclosed.

The sources said the agencies, Ghana Ports Authority (GPA), Ghana Cargo Handling Company (GCHC) and Takoradi Lighterage Company (TLC) are to be brought together under a unified agency to be known as Ghana Ports and Harbour Authority (GPHA).

Detailed proposals and a draft legal document to back the merger as before the Committee of Secretaries for approval, possibly before the end of year, the sources added.

The plan to merge the three functions at the ports, the sources said, follows recommendations by a team of British experts from PORTIA Management Services Limited in England, who were commissioned by the PNDC last June to study organisational reforms required to improve efficiency and productivity in Ghana's ports.

According to a report submitted by the experts after the three-month study, it was discovered that out of "self-interest and self-preservation," the three government agencies had been operating autonomously of each other, sometimes to the detriment of the economy.

The source said the proposed merger is, therefore, expected to ensure that the three agencies work together towards the common aim of clearing cargo and goods quickly and efficiently.

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CSO: 3400/885

DAM REHABILITATION PLANNED TO ENCOURAGE DRY SEASON FARMING

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 17 Dec 85 p 8

[Article by George Sydney Abugri]

[Text] A large number of dams and dugouts at Vierri in the Upper West Region are to be rehabilitated by the government for dry season agricultural activity.

It is hoped that with this programme farmers' personal incomes would be increased, avenues created for employment, the migration of youth from the area to the southern part of the country minimized and idling during the dry season discouraged.

The Upper West Regional Under Secretary, Alhaji Amidu Salemana, announced this when he addressed farmers at Vierri and emphasised their important role in the Economic Recovery Programme.

He assured the farmers that the government had not only embarked on an action programme to ensure the adequate supply of farming inputs to them but was also providing storage facilities to ensure that excess supply of their produce does not reduce food price levels below farmers' production costs.

He reminded the peasant farmers that the burning of bushes for a supposed reduction in the growth of weeds only destroys soils and reduces their natural fertility.

The role of the farmer as envisaged under the PNDC's Economic Recovery Programme, he told them is intended to ensure that they produce not only enough to feed themselves but to have excesses for export so as to utilize the nation's scarce foreign resources for the development of other sectors of the economy.

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CSO: 3400/878

1985 INDUSTRIAL, AGRICULTURAL, SOCIAL ADVANCES DISCUSSED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 1 Jan 86 pp 3, 5

[Text] Irrigation

Production of rice under irrigation has increased significantly in 1985 as compared with the previous year. A total of 2,045 hectares of land was put under cultivation at Tono, Veia and Afife. In 1984 a total of 1,136 hectares of land was put under cultivation.

Although some farmers are yet to make their harvest, figures from Afife show that 45,000 bags of paddy rice or about 2,250 metric tonnes of milled rice has already been produced.

Industrial Crops

There has been a marked improvement in the production of industrial crops such as cotton, bast fibre and palm oil. Cotton production rose from 93.6 metric tonnes in 1984 to 310.9 metric tonnes in 1985.

Bast fibre has achieved a 25% increase over the previous year's production. Palm oil production has also increased remarkably.

With an estimated shortfall of 1,000 metric tonnes in 1984 the production reached 4,000 metric tonnes in 1986 which is 3,000 tonnes more than the projected estimate of 41,000 tonnes. It is expected that Ghana will start commercial exportation of palm oil in 1986 since production has exceeded national requirement.

Cocoa and sheanut production has also increased this year. Production of cocoa in 1983 was 158,000 tonnes. The output rose to 175,000 in 1985. It is estimated that the output will rise to 200,000 tonnes this cocoa season.

Fish Production

There has been remarkable improvement in fish production during the period. Canoe fish production increased from 131,000 metric tonnes to 142,000 metric tonnes.

Production from inshore fishing increased from 15,000 metric tonnes to 19,000 metric tonnes. Deep-sea fishing and Tuna fishing also increased from 12,000 metric tonnes to 17,000 metric tonnes.

Livestock Production

Apart from poultry, there has been a significant increase in the production of cattle, sheep, goat and pigs. All these successes could not have been achieved if the government had not provided adequate inputs coupled with sound advice and encouragement.

Rural Development

The development of the rural areas is one of the main pre-occupations of the government because it has been realised that the bulk of the nation's wealth comes from the rural area but the rural people have long been discriminated against in the provision of social services and amenities. The Government has therefore decided to concentrate most of its development efforts in the rural areas.

Some of the achievements of the Department of Rural Development during the period was the construction between 1982 and 1984, on co-operative basis, of 20 houses in the Central Region, 30 in Eastern Region, 18 in the Volta Region, 10 in Brong-Ahafo and 10 in the Northern Region.

During 1985, 25 housing projects each with 10 housing units planned for the ten regions are due for completion this month. In all, 100 houses are expected to be built and most of them have already been completed.

Cottage Industries

In 1984, 174 industrial plants worth £100 million, were imported from India for the Promotion of rural industries and this includes four brick plants and tile presses. The Department is using the latter to set up four brick and tile factories in the rural areas.

As part of the rural industrialisation programme a foundry project has been set up at Suame, in, Kumasi for the production of small-scale industrial tools and spare parts. The project will be commissioned shortly.

Social Amenities

In pursuance of its policy to extend social services to the rural areas, the Government with assistance from the Federal Republic of Germany and the Canadian International Development Aid (CIDA) has been drilling boreholes in the rural areas to provide potable water for the rural people. The Government has, in addition, ordered drilling rigs from India for borehole water projects in rural areas. The project is expected to be completed next year.

The Department of Rural Development has also undertaken the construction of KVIP public places of convenience for Volta, Central, Western, Eastern

and Ashanti Regions. The Department has purchased two million machines at the cost of £330,000.00 for promotion of shea-butter production in the Upper West Region.

It is expected that with this accelerated development of the rural areas and provision of modern amenities in these areas, the rush to the urban areas by the youth will minimise.

Work and Housing

It is the policy of the government to house as many people as possible and the Ministry of Works and Housing has been making serious efforts to solve the acute housing problem in the country. In this regard the Ministry has proposed the establishment of a National Housing Fund and a National Housing Policy. These have already been submitted to the Government for consideration.

Meanwhile, in order to complete all on-going projects, scattered throughout the country, the Ministry has signed an agreement with the German Democratic Republic for the importation of building materials. The materials which have already arrived in the country cost about £74,483,000.

The Prefabricated Factory Project which collapsed after the 1966 coup has now been reactivated. The company has been able to complete the Accra Brewery Junion Staff flat. They have also completed and commissioned a block of flats for GHAIIP workers.

It is hoped that with this successful take-off of the factory more houses will be put up, mainly for workers, either on hire-purchase or for renting.

Provision of Water To Rural Areas

The Ghana Water and Sewerage Corporation during the period has been able to drill 2,500 boreholes in the Upper West and Upper East Regions. This has been made possible through the assistance of the Canadian International Development Agency (OCIDA). The project will be extended to other regions with the assistance of the Federal Republic of Germany which has pledged an amount of 118 million Deutsche Marks for this purpose. So far 3,000 boreholes have been completed.

Sea Defence Project

The Ministry of Works and Housing has in conjunction with the AESC held International Consultative Conference on Sea Erosion in the Bight of Benin. The purpose of the conference was to find a solution to the problem of sea erosion on West African coasts, especially Keta, Labadi, Ada and Sekondi.

Transportation

It has been realised that for a successful take-off of the Economic Recovery Programme the transport sector should be revitalised. At the initial stages of the Revolution the transport sector had almost broken down, due to non-availability of spare parts and fuel.

World Bank Reconstruction Import Credit of \$13 million worth of truck spare parts and \$800,000 worth of batteries were procured in 1984. Loans from other international bodies were also used for this purpose.

To facilitate the movement of people, 200 Tata buses were ordered in 1982 and another 200 in 1984. The State Transport Corporation also ordered 50 Setra buses to augment its fleet. Since 1983 the Ministry of Transport and Communications has launched a Test Bus Programme aimed at selecting more suitable buses to improve the inter-city and rural public transport system.

On water transportation, measures are being taken to develop and expand the Volta Lake transport system. To this end, a contract has been signed between the Volta River Authority and ABU, a Federal Republic of Germany firm. Under the agreement the firm will construct a port and provide workshop facilities at Akosombo and Buipe.

The Railway Corporation has been working around the clock to complete the rehabilitation of the Western railway which is expected to be completed by the end of 1986. Negotiation for the rehabilitation of the Eastern and Central lines are in progress. Plans are also advanced to extend the existing line from Awaso to Sunyani.

The possibility of extending the line through Kibi to Boso as part of the bauxite exploration project is being considered.

Communication

During the period extensions were made to the Takoradi, Sunyani, Ho and Kumasi automatic telephone exchanges. A new direct microwave line between Accra, Kumasi, Bolgatanga is being undertaken under a \$26 million Japanese loan. The Government has been assisting the expansion and modernization of the domestic telephone services and the Pan African Telecommunication Project designed to link Ghana and the rest of Africa.

In the field of air communication, Ghana Airways has initiated moves to expand its international routes. The Corporation has already opened a route via Dusseldorf in the Federal Republic of Germany for the Accra-London service. The Corporation plans to acquire additional aircraft.

The Government plans to rehabilitate the Black Star Line which has been on the verge of collapse. Arrangements have also been completed to rehabilitate both the Tema and Takoradi ports with funds provided by grants from Saudi Arabia and the EEC.

Education

The importance the Government attaches to education is evidenced from the enactment of PNDC Law 2 which outlines the basic framework of the Government's policy on education. In order to rid the educational system of foreign culture, the Government introduced new guidelines on education in which national culture and identity have been stressed. In its anxiety to raise the standard of education in the country, measures have been taken to improve conditions of service of teachers in first and second cycle educational institutions and

the universities. The Government also set up an education committee in March 1984 charged with the formulation of a national educational policy for Ghana.

To improve the quality of education and increase placement of children eligible for secondary school education, many private secondary schools have been absorbed into the public system. Consequently, enrolment in secondary has increased considerably. The Ministry of Education has also intensified the training of the handicapped. A separate directorate has accordingly been set up for this purpose.

Policy

In tackling the problems of education in the country, the Government has not ignored technical education. The Tamale Technical Institute has in pursuance of this policy been upgraded to a polytechnic. It is expected that a new technical school will be opened at Bolgatanga in the Upper East Region at the beginning of the 1985/86 academic year. Other technical institutes opened during the period include Cape Coast Polytechnic, Kwahu Tafo and Saboba Technical Institutes.

The Government has been making every effort to adequately equip these schools. It has therefore allocated a substantial amount in foreign exchange for the importation of new equipment, spare parts and training materials for distribution to the various technical institutes in the country.

Already, some electrical equipment which has been imported from the German Democratic Republic for training purposes has been installed at the Accra Polytechnic and other technical institutes.

Politics

Many Ghanaians have realised that the previous constitutions of the country failed because the type of representational system adopted on each occasion made Government remote and distant from the primary communities that were alleged to have elected them. Consequently governments remained in the hands of the few and only presented the economically powerful segment of society.

One of the foremost tasks of the Government therefore is to ensure that power is returned to the people. Government must be understood to mean that political authority shall be in the hands of all communities who shall exercise it for their own benefit.

Since the realisation of this objective will require a sound local government system as a basis for a sound national government, the Government is accordingly decentralising the administration of the country. This means that a District Council will form the basis of administration in each area delineated for this purpose.

The National Commission for Democracy which has been established to disseminate within Ghanaian society, awareness of the objectives of the ongoing revolutionary transformation has the added task of preparing all segments of society to take hold of their communities and organise them for their own economic good.

This task includes the mobilisation of these communities for the purpose of achieving full democratic participation in the use of power.

System

When implementing this policy, care will be taken to model the system to suit the country's tradition, history and culture. Attention will also be paid to certain socio-cultural values, such as consultation, voluntary participation, consensus and self-reliance.

It is expected that with the implementation of this programme, Ghana will build a political system which will be strong and stable to stand the test of time.

The PNDC's bold attempt in restructuring the economy and to remodel Ghana's political structure in line with the country's culture and tradition has not been an easy task, since it had to contend with opposing forces, both internal and external who do not want the programme to succeed.

Ghanaians must therefore congratulate themselves for enduring the hardships resulting from the implementation of the programme. Given the sound and stable socioeconomic and political policies being implemented by the PNDC, there is no doubt that Ghana will once again emerge as the economic and political giant of Africa.

/9274

CSO: 3400/878

DECLINE IN COCOA PRODUCTION ARRESTED

Accra PEOPLE'S DAILY GRAPHIC in English 2 Jan 86 pp 1, 5

[Article by Wendy Asiama]

[Text] The sharp decline experienced by the cocoa industry in the last ten years has been completely reversed as a result of incentives and measures introduced by the PNDC under its Economic Recovery Programme to boost the production capacities of that sector.

The measure took the form of improvement in the transport fleet for the COCOBOD and provision of insecticides and sprayers and improvement of cocoa storage facilities in the rural areas.

It is projected that cocoa production is likely to increase from 155,000 metric tonnes in 1983 to 200,000 metric tonnes for 1985, Mr Seung H Choi, World Bank representative in the country, has stated.

Answering a question as to what impact foreign capital injected into the timber, gold and cocoa industries under the government's Economic Recovery Programme made on the economic development of the nation. Mr Choi said the impact is evident in the halting and reversing of the earlier declining trend in production levels.

He said under the World Bank export rehabilitation project, about 12 million dollars was allocated to the sector out of which about half that amount has been utilised.

Mr Choi attributed the success story of increase in production of cocoa to incentives, measures and the physical support given to the sector.

He projected that by 1988, production levels of the cocoa industry will reach 250,000 metric tonnes.

He revealed that the World Bank is preparing another cocoa project for the sector which will emphasise replanting of old and aged trees to help the sector develop on long term basis and recapture the market lost to other cocoa producing countries.

Commenting on gold, Mr Choi said the decline of output has been arrested and for the first time in almost a decade, in 1985, there was a marked increase in the country's gold production.

He said under the World Bank export rehabilitation project, they expect the Tarkwa, Prestea, and Dunkwa mines to double their output in two years time.

"We expect their production levels to move from the present 40,000 ounces in 1984 to exceed 100,000 ounces by 1987. These improvements will be the result of 30 million dollars allocated to rehabilitate the three mines," he said.

Already, 11 million dollars has been utilised by the State Gold Mining Corporation to bring in supplies and equipment and the engagement of the Canada-Ghana Mining Group to help in the rehabilitation work while the Canadian Government supplements with further financial assistance.

In the areas of Bauxite, Manganese and Diamonds, he said support is being provided under the World Bank Reconstruction Import Credit to make money available to these sectors to increase their production output.

/9274

CSO: 3400/878

EDITORIAL CONDEMNS BADEA ATTITUDE

AB151848 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 15 Jan 86 pp 1, 28

[Auguste Miremont editorial: "A man's house is his castle"]

[Text] One cannot be firmer than President Houphouet-Boigny is regarding the principles of Ivory Coast's internal and foreign independence and dignity. These two significant words fully express the Ivorian people's total and deep desire to be the sole masters of their ship, the only ones to decide its destination, and the only ones--after God--responsible for their destiny and the fate of the ship.

It is necessary to recall what the destinations and options are? Let us recall them since there are some people in Africa and elsewhere who seem to ignore them or pretend not to know them in order to trample down as they like the sovereign rights of an independent country which is free to manage its affairs as it likes.

At the internal level, there is a double path: a political regime based on a single party, the PDCI-RDA [Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast--African Democratic Rally], to guarantee stability but with solid foundations such as dialogue as a religion and factor of peace; an intensive internal democracy (which is surprising in a country with a single party) for which the people again demonstrated their interest during the recent elections; respect for individual liberties of which the right to life is the most sacred; and an economic system with the well-known and recognized political creed: liberalism. [sentence as published]

As for foreign policy, the president recently recalled its principles which are without ambiguity: total sovereignty, cooperation with all states which desire it in mutual respect of "our regime of peace and freedom" and of the "political, economic, and social options of our partners; respect of all national commitments at the subregional, regional, and inter-African levels and at the international level but with a neutrality like that of Switzerland because Ivory Coast (which is "no one's enemy" and wants to be "everybody's friend") will not "support the quarrels of anyone whatsoever and of any country whatsoever;" participation in all peace efforts through dialogue and in this connection, our country will "carefully avoid to take opportunity for opportunism," as the head of state specified. [sentence as published]

This is clear and it should henceforth be clear even to the touchy organizations, institutions, or countries which---priding themselves on their relative wealth--want to suppress the world and particularly the poor states.

It is thus that the Arab Bank for African Economic Development [BADEA] for example--to mention only this bank--envisages its collaboration and assistance for the development of the African Continent? That is through a situation that would enable the wealthiest to impose their rule on the poor and to give them orders? "Do this, say this," we will be ordered; will the order be immediately obeyed?

Is this an excessive caricature of Arab-African cooperation? Most certainly. It is nevertheless the reality of cooperation as it is understood or envisaged by the BADEA. In fact, what have we been told since Ivory Coast affirmed its intention to reestablish its relations with Israel? As far as the Arab League is concerned, the Arab and African peoples must "oppose" the countries which "denigrate the solidarity between the two communities" by resuming relations with Israel. These countries "are sowing discord among our peoples." This resumption of cooperation with Israel is "incompatible" with "the commitments made by the Arabs and the Africans."

Incidentally, what discord are we sowing or would we sow by this demonstration of sovereignty? And which commitments will we break that have not yet been broken by the very people who are abusing us? There is no need to harp on black Africa's grievances against its Arab partners. They are many. And these attacks, which are increasing, demonstrate a terrifying bad faith. It is obvious that "he who wants to down his dog accuses it of having rabies."

The BADEA has been issuing threats without any sense of judgment and honesty. In fact, this bank said without wincing that "it was going to stop its aid to Ivory Coast" because by expressing the desire to resume relations with Israel, it had violated the "Arab-African consensus in favor of a struggle against racism in Africa and Israel." These are lame arguments and especially shameless lies. Are Ivorians not struggling against racism? On which planet did Mr Ayari, the managing director of this financial institution, obtain this fact? Inside Ivory Coast itself, relations among the various foreign communities are characterized by considerations due to human dignity and by the brotherhood which the head of state is the first to preach and practice. This fact is known to everyone. I said that the argument is a lame one. It is aimed at excusing the iniquitous and cynical statement announcing financial aid to Ivory Coast and especially its suspension. Of which aid is the BADEA talking? One seems to be dreaming because up till now, Ivory Coast has not received any Arab financial aid. The BADEA has created more confusion by talking about:

1. A sum of \$3.3 million loaned to Cimao (Cement Company of the West African States) whose members are Togo, Ghana, and Ivory Coast. Certainly because of the fear of appearing very ridiculous, the BADEA did not disclose that this amount forms part of a global financial agreement sought and negotiated solely by the World Bank. The BADEA knew of these states only through the guarantee they offered for the repayment of the loan to the creditors, including the

BADEA. Is the BADEA now taking a loan for an aid? We do not know whether words have assumed new meanings or not. Unless in his desire to please his "masters," Mr Ayari is now becoming a pathological liar and demagogue and this would be a negation of the realism for which the business world is well-known.

2. The BADEA brandished--like a child's rattle--the sum of about \$10 million for the construction of the Soubre dam. What impudence! In the particular case of the Soubre dam construction project, everyone--and especially Mr Ayari--knows that the BADEA loan had not been requested by our country. It was the BADEA which approached the World Bank and negotiated with this institution for its participation in the financing of the project. But our head of state opposed BADEA's participation because the accompanying conditions which were degrading for our sovereignty. It will be recalled that during his official visit to London in July 1983, President Houphouet clearly stated this refusal; he said among other things: Ivory Coast rejects all cooperation entailing any conditions, be they political or religious. He is now saying the same thing and equally as firmly. In fact, for Ivorians, "any cooperation worthy of the name must be based on the mutual respect of the men and countries which establish it among them... failing to do so, the receiving countries would lose both their independence and dignity." Is it not true that those who are poorer than we are would like to preserve at least their dignity as well as their freedom to act according to their own interests?

The head of state used to say that "a man's house is his castle." It is obvious that the partner who has respect for the decisions and commitments of "man" will win the latter's esteem as well as his total, dynamic, [words indistinct] is what Ivory Coast wants, it wants to lean against its independence in order to concretely and selflessly help its brothers--while respecting their dignity--to recover peace. There is no room for passion and fanaticism in the realization of such a noble objective. People must understand this, as they must also understand once and for all that neither pressures, threats, nor blackmail will make Ivory Coast change its policy. This is because it is right, because it believes it is on the right path, and because it believes that its policy is sound, reasonable, and effective.

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CSO: 3400/893

BRIEFS

CANADIAN ENVOY DELIVERS MESSAGE--Within the framework of the "summit meeting of French-speaking countries" to be held in Paris from 17 to 19 February, His Excellency Mr Lucien Bouchard, Canadian ambassador to France, visited our country from 11 to 13 January. He delivered a personal message from the Canadian prime minister to the head of state. The ambassador expressed his prime minister's hope to meet with the president of the republic on the occasion of the summit meeting of French-speaking countries. It is necessary to specify that the holding of this summit was decided at the ministerial conference of French-speaking countries held on 14 December last year. [Excerpt] [Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 15 Jan 86 AB] /12712

CSO: 3400/893

BBC INTERVIEWS OPPOSITION DETAINEE'S WIFE

MB151717 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 15 Jan 86

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] One of the opposition detainees [in Lesotho] is Bennet Khaketla, leader of the Royalist Party [title as heard]. He and other opposition leaders were picked up when they returned to Lesotho from a visit to South Africa. On the line, Robin White asked Mr Khaketla's wife what she made of her husbands detention.

[Begin recording] [Mrs Khaketla] I must say I was surprised because he hid nothing from anybody. They knew that he was going out there, they knew why.

[White] In fact, why had he been talking to the South African Government?

[Mrs Khaketla] In the first place, there is a lot of trouble about the border here and people are finding it very difficult to cross, and so one of the reasons he went into the republic was to try and find out if he could see the prime minister and talk to him about this as he has done before.

[White] Was he going there, in fact, to try and persuade the South Africans to lift the blockade?

[Mrs Khaketla] That is the truth.

[White] Did he inform the government that he was going to do this?

[Mrs Khaketla] No, he didn't.

[White] But wouldn't it have been a good idea to have informed the government about what he was doing?

[Mrs Khaketla] I don't know, I must say, because he has done it before and nothing ever came out of it and he has never released facts [words indistinct] of it.

[White] But don't you think it was rather predictable that the government might in some way think he was plotting?

[Mrs Khaketla] Oh, yes, they would because, well, the situation here is always misinterpreted whatever he does.

[White] I understand that you went to try and see him today.

[Mrs Khaketla] Yes, I went. I am not supposed to see him, but fortunately for me as I was walking out of one office, he was coming in from another point and we then exchanged greetings.

[White] But you weren't able to talk to him properly?

[Mrs Khaketla] No.

[White] Did he seem in good spirits?

[Mrs Khaketla] He seemed cheerful all right.

[White] How long do you think the authorities might hold him for?

[Mrs Khaketla] They may keep him for 14 days, they have got a law of 14-day detention without charge. Thereafter they may charge him or release him as it pleases them.

[White] Are you concerned for his well-being?

[Mrs Khaketla] Of course I am. What wife wouldn't be? [end recording]

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CSO: 3400/893

DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER PAYE ADDRESSES TROOPS

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 3 Jan 86 p 2

[Text] The Deputy Minister of Defense for Operation, Colonel Jackson Paye, has said that the mandate of a soldier is to defend, protect and safeguard the citizens of the country, and foreign residents within the confines of the State as well as their properties.

He said soldiers should at all times be mindful of the sacred oath they took upon enlisting in the Armed Forces of Liberia:--that is to "defend and protect the sovereignty of the State-give unquestionable obedience to orders issued by the Commander-In Chief through their superior officers placed over them directly or indirectly".

Minister Paye was speaking Tuesday, at Camp Todee where he represented the Minister of National Defense, Major General Gray D. Allison at the dedicatory ceremony of six housing units estimated at \$995,065 and a water system valued at \$2 million.

Speaking briefly on the theme "The Role of Professional Soldiers as We Enter the New Republic," Col. Paye said a soldier is regarded unprofessional when he gets "carried with the wind by a single pro-propaganda warfare." [as published]

"A soldier," he went on, "is considered disgruntled when he arrest and loses the properties of Government officials which he is supposed to protect." [as published]

"We defeat our purpose," he noted "when we humiliate our own officials of government simply because they work for Government" Guest what will happen to our country, Minister Paye asked, "when everybody refuses to work for Government for fear that they might get arrested and beaten by their own soldiers.

"There will be no Liberia because there is no country without a Government," minister Paye asserted.

He then lauded President-elect CIC Dr. Samuel K. Doe, for the confidence reposed in them to serve in his government and for his relentless efforts aimed at improving the living condition of the men and women of the AFL.

Co. Paye also thanked the US Government for its continuing military aid to Liberia over the years which, he said, had made the AFL housing scheme possible.

The Mouchantaf Construction and Maintenance Company (MCMC), contractor of the project, was also lauded for its splendid performance and the speedy implementation of the project.

Speaking also at the ceremony, the Assistant Minister for Civil Works, Colonel Stephen Blayee, observed that the modern facilities provided by government have boost the morale of the men and women of the Armed Forces of Liberia.

Soldiers assigned in the leeward counties and other remote areas have no cause, he said, to migrate to Monrovia or other urban centers in quest of better housing facilities.

Giving the technical breakdown about the water system, Colonel Blayee said the system has two pumps each with a storage tank of 6,000 gallons, while the reservoir has a storage capacity of 40,000 gallons.

He disclosed that similar water system is slated for Camp Jackson, Bong County. He also mentioned that pretty soon, more military housing units will be dedicated in that Camp.

Concluding, Col. Blayee recommended once more that funds be made available in the Ministry's budget for the maintenance of the AFL housing units and facilities.

Earlier, Mr. Anthony Mouchantaf, Chairman, (MCMC), thanked the US and Liberian Governments for the confidence reposed in his firm by awarding the contract.

He said his company was prepared to undertake similar projects in the future.

Mr. Mauchantaf thanked Dr. Doe and members of government for enabling foreign engineers to participate in the infrastructural development of the nation.

Receiving the facilities, Rudolph Kolako, Commanding General, AFL, admonished the users of the facilities to properly maintain them.

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CSO: 3400/864

MILITARY CASUALTIES FROM INVASION REPORTED

Monrovia SUNTIMES in English 31 Dec 85 p 12

[Article by Abdullah Dukuly]

[Text] Nine soldiers have been reported to have lost their lives in the course of the invasion of November 12.

The soldiers have been named as 2nd/Lt. Hilton Grear, M/Sgt. Charles D. Holder, M/Sgt. Sonnie N. Richards, S/Sgt. Joseph Mentoe and S/Sgt. Samuel Zai.

Others are S/Sgt. Victor N. Karr, S/Sgt. James Doways, Pvt. Stephen Gbolley and Pvt. Gibson W. Tarley.

In a list submitted to form part of the evidence in the case of the five persons who have now been charged with treason for their activities related to the November 12 invasion, the nine soldiers and other "unknown" people were murdered during the simultaneous attack on the Executive Mansion, the ELBS Radio, ELWA Radio, the Barclay Training Center and Camp 72nd.

The list was signed and submitted by Col. J. Albert Tuning, Army Adjutant General, and it is now being used as part of the evidence during the prosecution of Lawrence A. Wills and four others.

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CSO: 3400/864

DOE EXPLAINS NEW ECONOMIC MEASURES, WARNS CIVIL SERVANTS

Monrovia FOOTPRINTS TODAY in English 27 Dec 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] All officials and government employees who feel that they cannot live with the recent decision by government to effect an across-the-board 25 percent deduction in the salaries of civil servants are free to exercise [passage illegible] option by resigning from government, the Head of State and President-Elect, CIC Dr. Samuel K. Doe, has cautioned.

An Executive Mansion release issued this week said Dr. Doe expressed dismay that some officials of government and some citizens do not fully understand the serious economic problems facing the nation and the need to make sacrifices, which are necessary to ensure the survival of the nation.

Head of State Doe also noted that the decision to institute these economic measures was taken after a careful review of the entire situation, adding that government derives no pleasure from reducing the salaries of its employees.

Dr. Doe then called upon all officials of government to make it their responsibility to explain government's policy to the people at all times, and warned that government will not condone actions by any official which tend to undermine these policy measures.

Meanwhile, Liberians including foreign residents here have been congratulated for their determination of work harder for the continued progress and development of Liberia.

In his Christmas message to the nation, Dr. Doe also congratulated his fellow country men as well as those residing within our borders for their dedication and devotion, loyalty and patriotic response to the call of the nation as we enter the Christmas spirit which proclaims love, joy, peace and goodwill.

"In spite of the difficult economic strains and their effects on the world community, despite our adversities," Dr. Doe said, "Liberians including those residing within her borders are thankful to Almighty God that our ship of state has remained on an even keel and we continue our endeavour and resolve to pursue a policy of national reconciliation, reconstruction and unity."

"Except for the abortive invasion of November 12," the Liberian Head of State said, "the nation enjoyed relative peace, tranquility and stability for which, we can rejoice and give thanks and praises to the Almighty God."

Dr. Doe then hoped that after this Christmas season, "each of us will extend its blessings of peace, harmony and concord into the new year and will re-dedicate ourselves faithfully to the great tasks that lie ahead of us in our Second Republic."

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CSO: 3400/865

ASSISTANCE PACT SIGNED WITH JAPAN

Monrovia NEW LIBERIAN in English 31 Dec 85 pp 1, 6

[Article by Joseph Teh]

[Text] The government of Japan is to grant the Liberian government an amount of \$1 million for the purchase of agricultural chemicals and fertilizers under an agreement signed at the Foreign Ministry yesterday.

Liberia's Foreign Minister T. Ernest Eastman signed for the Liberian government and the Japanese Ambassador to Liberia, His Excellency Hideo Yoshikawa, signed for his government, while the Minister of Agriculture who is head of the implementing agency, Scott Toweh, witnessed the signing ceremony.

Minister Eastman in remarks, described the grant as a "splendid example of Japanese generosity." He cited the construction of the maternity center and the existing agreement on the improvement of broadcasting as examples of Japanese generosity towards Liberia.

He then thanked the government of Japan through the ambassador, and hoped that Japan will continue its assistance to Liberia to improve its agricultural program.

The Japanese envoy in response, said Japan has decided to extend the grant to Liberia in support of her self-reliant efforts in food production, noting that agriculture is one of the cornerstones of development in Third World countries.

He hoped that the cooperation will make a significant contribution to the increase of food production and the agricultural development in Liberia while anticipating a continued growth of the friendly relations between Liberia and Japan in the ensuing year.

For his part, Agriculture Minister Toweh said although rice production was the main concern of government, there are plans for diversification. He stated that government needs to educate the farmers to increase the sizes of their farms for greater productivity, if government intends to do more specialized farming.

This was the third major agreement between Japan and Liberia. The first and second were the construction of the Liberian-Japanese Friendship Maternity Hospital and the assistance package for the improvement of the Liberia Broadcasting System.

TEACHERS BOYCOTT GRADUATION IN DEMAND FOR BACK PAY

Monrovia FOOTPRINTS TODAY in English 24 Dec 85 pp 1, 12

[Article by Joe K. Roberts, Jr.]

[Text] Over 30 teachers on the Monrovia College and Industrial Training School on Camp Johnson Road, last Sunday boycotted the graduation program of the school in demand of their four months salary arrears owed them by the school authorities.

According to reports, the teachers are also threatening to withhold the grades of more than 500 students of the school until at least they get two of the four months salary arrears owed them by the school.

The reports said the teachers had "constantly pleaded" with the school's authorities to give them two months pay out of the four months salary arrears due them before last Sunday's commencement exercises, else they would boycott the program.

According to a letter dated September 10, 1985, and signed by the teachers, a copy of which was obtained by this paper, the teachers told the Board of Trustees of the school that "the decision that was taken by the Board on September 9, with regard to the indefinite time of payment of the three month arrears and the uncertainty of receiving salaries for four subsequent months before the closure of the '85 Academic year did not only weaken our morale but proves beyond all doubt that the Board does not care about our welfare.

The letter further stated that, "professionally, we do not intend to stay away from the classrooms, but the constant intimidation and harrassment from our creditors, landlords, etc, and our inability to honour our promises due to the indefinite periods of receiving our pay checks has necessitated this decision."

However, in a letter of reply to the teachers, a copy of which was also obtained by this paper, the Board of Trustees said, "the Board views your letter as an ultimatum tinted with insults, charges, misrepresentation and irresponsibility. We fail to see how you can claim to have the students at heart when you have decided, by your ultimatum to drop the same students at this time of the year and frustrate their academic pursuit."

The Board maintained in the letter that "we should like to call your attention to the fact that the financial conditions of Monrovia College which has brought this indebtedness to you for back salaries is not unique to this school alone, but exists on the national level and in government schools as well. Monrovia College can not be expected to be better than the national situation," the letter concluded.

But a source close to the school indicated to our reporter that every student in the school has paid "every cent they owed the school and the government has given part of the school's subsidy," which, according to the source "the Board had always used as an excuse for not paying us."

One of the teachers who refused to be named, told our reporter that "until we at least get two of our four month salary arrears, we will continue withholding all grades and if the school decides to go ahead and issue report cards, we the teachers would consider the grades on the cards as illegal since in fact we did not issue them."

When the Principal of the School, Mrs. Louise York, was contacted for comments on the reason why the teachers boycotted the graduation program, she simply replied, "If it is true, then it is our business".

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CSO: 3400/865

CONFRONTATIONS FEARED IF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IMPLEMENTED

Monrovia DAILY STAR in English 24 Dec 85 pp 1, 11

[Article by Philip N. Wesseh]

[Text] He maintained that the Koran and the Bible have vast differences and that the teaching of both may results into confrontations among students in schools, adding that the two religious books are not the same.

Rev. Simpson, who was reacting to an appeal by a muslim to teach the Koran and Bible in all public schools, advised that since Liberia was established on "Christian principles" and its people are predominantly Christians, it would be in the interest of the state for "only the Bible to be taught in Liberian schools."

He noted, however, that if muslims want their Holy Koran to be taught in Liberia, they should erect buildings for the teaching of the Koran but educational authorities should not accept the teaching of the Koran alongside the Bible in Liberian schools.

Recently, the Liberian Leader, CIC Dr. Sa-uel K. Doe in a nationwide address, called for the institution of religious education in all public schools in the country effective as of academic year 1986.

Six days later, Mr. Abu Bakar S. A. Abdul Kareem, President of the Islamic Discourse Society and Moderator of the ELTV program "Focus on Islam" proposed that Islam and Christianity be taught, read and studied together from kindergarten to university level in all Liberian schools.

Mr. Abdul-Kareem further suggested that Islam and Christianity be made major and compulsory subjects and that failure by students should entail repetition of the class of question.

But, according to Rev. Leo Simpson, the two books are "opposing" and should not be taught together, pointing out that the Bible was made by people upon the inspiration of God while the Holy Koran was "man-made with philosophical writings".

Rev. Simpson who was speaking in an interview with our reporters yesterday, indicated that it was only the Holy Bible that could contribute immensely in finding workable solutions to social economic and political problems faced by the country.

"The Lord has solutions to every problem. Nothing is greater than Him," he said, adding, "what we need to do is to follow what the scripture says and not to only listen to the words. This is the only way we will be able to overcome all of our problems."

Rev. Simpson further suggested that only those who are spiritually matured and committed to the Lord should teach the Bible in schools and not those whose hands are fond of blood and corruption so that the exercise will not be a fruitless one.

Rev. Simpson, who is also director of the Haywood Mission Chapel, warned that these teachers should be encouraged so that they will continue to inculcate into the minds of students the Christian education for the betterment of the society.

The Haywood principle used the occasion to re-emphasize that the school will continue to be a disciplined institution in that students are taught the essence of the Bible. He noted "we give first place to God and live according to Gospel. We respect the students and therefore, they also respect us. We do not exploit them".

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CSO: 3400/864

NATIONAL POLL COULD BE PATTERNED ON ZIMBABWEAN ELECTION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 3 Dec 85 p 11

[Article by Brendan Seery]

[Text] WINDHOEK — If United Nations Resolution 435 on Namibia is ever implemented, voters in the territory could go to the polls in an election which would be run along similar lines to that in Zimbabwe in 1980 in which Robert Mugabe swept to power.

During a heated debate on Namibia in the UN Security Council recently, South Africa announced that it had decided the proportional representation system would be used in an independence election in the territory. An individual constituency election appears to have been ruled out by Pretoria.

SYMBOLS

A proportional representation or "party list" poll would have many obvious advantages. People would vote for the party of their choice by putting their marks against its pictorial symbol, so lessening any possible confusion which could be generated by a multiplicity of candidates, as would be the case in a constituency fight.

There would be no need for a delimitation commission to carry out a voter survey and then painstakingly demarcate the new constituencies. A detailed Voters' Roll would also not be strictly necessary.

In Zimbabwe in 1980, just under three million people queued at polling stations to place their marks against party symbols. These included the

crowning cockerel of Zanu (PF), the mother and child and farming hoe of Joshua Nkomo's Zapu, the flaming torch of Ndabaningi Sithole's Zanu or the cowhide shield and spear of Bishop Abel Muzorewa's UANC.

When the votes were counted, any party in a particular district which failed to gain more than 10 percent of the total vote was eliminated and the parliamentary seats were divided between the remaining parties in proportion to the number of votes gained.

MPs were then selected from the various "party lists" of candidates provided by them prior to the polls.

Whites voted in a separate election for 20 representatives in the 100-seat parliament. This election was fought along traditional constituency lines.

The proportional representation system is not only easier and cheaper to plan and implement than a constituency battle, but it also gives the smaller parties a better chance.

In a constituency election for example, party A might win all the seats in a given area, although only by small majorities. Party B, even though it might garner a significant percentage of the votes, will get nothing.

Perhaps that is the rationale behind Pretoria's opting for the proportional representation vote. Certainly it would lessen the odds for the smaller and

more moderate Namibian parties in the tussle against Swapo, and consequently improve chances of a stronger opposition to Swapo in any majority-rule administration.

Pretoria's protege in Windhoek, the five-month-old Multi-Party Conference (MPC) government, is also happy with the proportional representation system, according to deputy Justice and Information Minister Mr. Katuutire Kaura, who spoke of the decision on the electoral system as being the removal of a "major obstacle" in the way of Namibian independence.

WITHDRAWAL

The proportional representation versus constituencies issue has, however, never loomed large as a stumbling block to a Namibian settlement.

It is rather the question of Cuban withdrawal which has been, and still is, the only thing holding back 435.

And, at present, it looks as though it will be some time before it is resolved and the Namibian people can get down to the nuts and bolts of a proportional representation election.

GOVERNMENT DENIES ROLE IN ATTEMPTS TO OUST KALANGULA

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 17 Dec 85 pp 1, 3

[Text] **THE TRANSITIONAL Government was not involved in attempts to oust the chairman of the Owambo executive committee, Mr Peter Kalangula, according to the new chairman of the Cabinet, Mr Moses Katjuongua.**

Mr Katjuongua said there had been allegations that the government was exerting pressure to get Mr Kalangula out of office.

"I want to make it clear that the Transitional Government has never asked Mr Kalangula to come and join nor taken any decision to change the status quo in Owambo."

He said he believed the recent moves against Mr Kalangula were part of "a struggle between old political opponents".

Neither the government nor his own party, Swanu, was involved in the political infighting in Owambo.

"We hope that at the end of the road, the people of Owambo will not suffer. We encourage any solution that is to the benefit of the local people," Mr Katjuongua said.

Mr Kalangula has been under attack on two fronts in recent weeks and has been forced to defend his position as chairman of the Owambo Executive.

The Owambo Legislative Assembly began a special meeting this morning to reconsider its budget after

it was frozen in terms of an out-of-court settlement following a Supreme Court application to have it declared invalid.

The application was brought by the DTA-affiliated Opposition in the Assembly, which charged the budget had not been passed by a quorum.

Despite Mr Kalangula's overwhelming majority in the Assembly, a question mark hangs over his ability to raise a quorum today after allegations that attempts would be made to persuade members to stay away.

In the second attack on Mr Kalangula's position, the Kwanyama tribal authority withdrew his nomination to the Owambo Assembly, putting pressure on him to prove the extent of his support.

The Democratic Turnhalle Alliance has been in the forefront of attempts to unseat Mr Kalangula as it makes an all-out bid for political control of Owambo.

Strong pressure on the Owambo leader has also come from Etango,

reportedly because of his continued resistance to joining the TG as well as his lack of co-operation with the Army.

The absence of a strong Owambo element in the interim government is seen as a major weakness.

Neither the DTA nor the government as a whole has a large power base in Owambo, which, because of its large concentration of people, will be crucial in any election.

than 50% of the Namibian population live there, continues.

Neither the TG nor the DTA has a large power base in Owambo and the latest bids are seen as an all-out attempt to gain a foothold through the Owambo Legislative Assembly.

Yesterday's special sitting of the Assembly was convened in terms of an out-of-court settlement after an urgent court application by the DTA-affiliated opposition in the Assembly to have the Owambo budget declared invalid.

They charged the third reading of the budget had not been passed by a quorum.

In another attack on Mr. Kalangula's position, the Kwanyama tribal authority last week withdrew his nomination to the Legislative Assembly.

Mr. Kalangula said public interest in Owambo had been high, with close to 800 people turning up at the Mweshipandeka school hall, where yesterday's sitting was held.

Not all could be accommodated inside and many were forced to wait outside.

Inside the hall, the gal-

lery had to be brought to order on numerous occasions as they showed their appreciation or disapproval of points raised from the floor.

Mr. Kalangula said he had also received many phone calls from around the country—"from Kavango to the south"—after news of his victory became public.

But, he added, sounding a serious note, he was sure his opponents would not cease to try and unseat him.

CSO: 3400/895

ALGIERS PAPER INTERVIEWS SWAPO'S NUJOMA

PM091234 Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 5 Jan 86 p 4

[Interview with SWAPO Chairman Sam Nujoma by D. Kaouane; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] [Kaouane] Mr Chairman, the justice of the Namibian people's cause and its right to independence are well known. Nevertheless contempt for and denials of this right continue. What are the implications of this with regard to SWAPO's struggle strategy?

[Nujoma] First SWAPO believes that the most important aspect of the struggle is to step up armed resistance, because this is the only effective way to freedom. To this end we must consider maintaining the war effort in Namibia and the aspect of mobilizing the people's masses in order to deal adequately with South African colonialism. We must also step up our international diplomatic activities, since the armed liberation struggle needs the international community's support. These are the important elements on which we are concentrating our efforts with a view to freeing our country from the yoke of South African apartheid and colonialism.

[Kaouane] Last June a puppet government composed of small groups parachuted in by Pretoria was installed in Windhoek. That prompted unanimous condemnation throughout the world and international forums deemed the action null and void. Nevertheless calculated and encouraged neglect has diverted attention from this issue. Now, 6 months on, that pseudo-government is still there, posing a latent threat in the form of a fait accompli. What is your assessment?

[Nujoma] That puppet regime was imposed without any referendum or election with the aim of deceiving the Namibian people and the international community. It is a coarse maneuver designed to make people believe that South Africa was willing to come to an "agreement."

Its real motives are known to be otherwise. South Africa is using there a maneuver of the purest colonial type--of the "third force" kind--which is obsolete and inevitably bound to fail. What is also certain is that Pretoria still oppresses the majority of the Namibian people.

It should also be remembered that the Namibian people have not allowed themselves to be deceived by this ridiculous puerile parody. The days following the installation of Pretoria's puppets were days of demonstrations by the Namibian people, the most important of which, organized in Windhoek, was violently repressed. This shows as clearly as possible the awareness of the Namibian people and their rejection of oppression and occupation, whatever guise it may assume.

The Namibian people's voice was heard again 2 months later. This shows their vigilance, their revolutionary will, and their rejection of the neocolonialist solution from their timetable.

Last 25 August, on the Namibian day marking the anniversary of the start of the armed struggle, a large people's demonstration took place, despite the South African forces' preparations and the measures taken to prevent anything from happening on that occasion.

[Kaouane] How do you judge the position of certain Western countries regarding the Namibian issue?

[Nujoma] The masks fell away long ago. There is no need to go back over the many maneuvers carried out by the United States in particular to delay the independence process in Namibia, in contempt of legality and justice.

The United States was behind the breakup of the "contact group," within which it actually worked in favor of Pretoria's, and of course their own, interests.

Even now these maneuvers continue within the international forums. In this connection we vigorously condemn the U.S.-British conspiracy within the Security Council in those two countries' veto on UN resolutions calling for the introduction of economic sanctions against Pretoria. Their stance implies contempt for the United Nations and its members.

We also condemn the morally unjust and legally unlawful effort of economic plundering to which those countries are resorting in Namibia. The United States, Britain, the FRG, and their big companies are appropriating resources which are the exclusive property of the Namibian people. Let us recall once again that this imperialist plundering of Namibia's natural resources is perpetrated with complete disregard for the most basic justice and in violation of the explicit requirements of international law.

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CSO: 3400/867

COUNCIL BEGINS DRAFTING CONSTITUTION, DISCRETION URGED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 14 Jan 86 p 11

[Text]

WINDHOEK. — The South West African Constitutional Council began meeting in Windhoek yesterday, assigned with the drafting of a constitution for the territory within the next 24 months.

Although the council will be meeting in closed session, the chairman, Mr Justice Victor Hiemstra, said before the beginning of proceedings he did not consider it necessary for members to take an oath of secrecy.

But he urged them to use their discretion on deliberations that they wanted to make public.

The retired judge from the Transvaal said earlier the media would be kept informed through news releases and news conferences of progress made by the 16-member council.

Political groupings represented in the Constitutional Council are the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, the Labour Party, the Rehoboth Free Democratic Party, the SWA National Party, a SWA National Union and Swapo Democrats.

The most difficult constitutional problem to be resolved by the council is the controversial question of proclamation AG 8 of

1980, which provides for the institution of second-tier ethnic authorities in SWA.

Swanu and Swapo-D have severely criticised the legislation in the past and called for its abolition, while most of the other parties represented in the SWA transitional government indicated they were in favour its retention, even if in moderated form.

Official spokesmen earlier said it was not certain at this stage whether the proposed constitution would be ratified through a referendum in SWA or through internationally

supervised elections in the territory for a constituent assembly as envisaged in United Nations Resolution 435 (1978).

Implementation of the UN Resolution has been delayed by United States demands, supported by South Africa, that SWA independence is conditional to the repatriation of an estimated 30 000 Cuban armed personnel sta-

tioned in neighbouring Angola.

The US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Dr Chester Crocker, is presently in Cape Town for discussions with South African officials. Sapa.

WESTERN GUIDELINES WILL SHAPE NATION'S CONSTITUTION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 15 Jan 86 p 11

[Text]

WINDHOEK. — A constitution to be drawn up by the South West Africa Constitutional Council would conform to Western-formulated constitutional guidelines for the territory, the council's chairman, Mr Justice Victor Hiemstra, said in Windhoek yesterday.

The council, which began meeting in closed session on Monday, adjourned to an undetermined date to establish methods of procedure.

A retired Transvaal judge, Mr Justice Hiemstra, told a news conference he anticipated no

profound ideological divisions among the six political groupings represented in the 16-member council appointed by the SWA transitional government.

The parties of the transitional government subscribed to a declaration of basic principles which stipulated that the constitution should be consistent with the universal declaration of human rights and the international covenant of civil and political rights.

"The principles laid down by the Western contact group likewise explicitly exclude racial or eth-

nic discrimination," Mr Justice Hiemstra said.

"A law like the Population Registration Act, providing for (an identification) card showing the holder's ethnic group, is totally out."

The constitutional council is assigned with drawing up a constitution within the next 24 months.

At the end of that period the SWA transitional government has to decide which technique to use to test the acceptability of the constitution by the people.

Mr Justice Hiemstra said the constitution, however, would not become law until it had been approved by a constituent assembly yet to be elected.

"The constituent assembly may adopt the constitution as a whole, or reject it and draw up an entirely new constitution," he said.

The election under international supervision of a constituent assembly is embodied in the UN Security Council Resolution 435, concerning SWA independence. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/895

NATIONAL PARTY TO LODGE OBJECTIONS TO CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 17 Jan 86 p 15

[Text]

WINDHOEK. —The South West Africa National Party is to lodge objections in writing to the SWA/Namibian transitional Cabinet concerning public announcements made by the chairman of the territory's Constitutional Council, Mr Justice Victor Hiemstra.

A retired Transvaal judge, Mr Justice Hiemstra told a news conference earlier this week the planned SWA/Namibian constitution would not leave room for ethnically constituted parties.

The leader of the SWANP, Mr Koste Pretorius, said in a statement in Windhoek yesterday that the issue had been discussed at an executive meeting of the party, which is represented in the SWA/Namibian transitional government.

The SWANP, whose membership is exclusively White, would make representations to the Cabinet, which had recommended Mr Justice Hiemstra's appointment as chairman of the Constitutional Council, Mr Pretorius said.

Meanwhile, a spokesman for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance said

yesterday it would have to work this year towards reconstituting itself in a single political party.

The DTA presently comprises 11 tribally-based parties.

"We must work towards unity as we are the only party that has people from all the tribes and groups," said the DTA general secretary, Mr Johan de Wal.

A split had developed in the DTA's Caprivan component following the merger last year, between the Caprivi Alliance Party

(CAP) and the Caprivi African National Union (CANU).

CAP and CANU formed the United Democratic Party under the leadership of a former Swapo vice-president, Mr Mishake Muyongo.

Swapo expelled Mr Muyongo from the organisation more than three years ago, saying the reason for his dismissal was that he had been promoting the secession of Caprivi from greater SWA/Namibia. —Sapa.

REPORT SAYS EDUCATION SHOULD BE PUT UNDER CENTRAL MINISTRY

Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 20 Dec 85 p 1

[Text] **ACCEPTANCE AND IMPLEMENTATION of the sensitive 1985 Government Education Report would sound the deathknell for representative authorities, including the whites, according to a pamphlet issued by the Herstigte Nasionale Party in Windhoek this week.**

"What other important function or 'own affair' then remains on the second tier?" the pamphlet, signed by SWA/HNP leader Sarel Becker, asks.

The report calls for the control and management of education to be taken away from representative authorities and placed under a central ministry.

As the report continues to draw blood on the white political front, the National Party has also strongly criticised the simplified version of the report released by the Department of National Information last week.

A statement yesterday by NP member and the Deputy Minister, Agriculture, Water Affairs and Fisheries, Mr Tinus Blaauw, said it was not an "accurate representation" of the report.

"All parties in the government should have

been approached for their comments on a matter as sensitive and controversial as this," he said.

Mr Blaauw reiterated the NP's standpoint that releasing the report and the simplified version had only added to the confusion and opened the doors to "undesirable politicking, which will contribute little, if anything, to a meaningful education dispensation".

In its hard-hitting pamphlet, the HNP said it would fight the implementation of the report with all legal means available.

It rejected any "watering down of AG 8" and the view that Namibia should be treated as a Third World country with whites being dragged down to a Third World level.

"The HNP demands that whites should control their own education from the pre-primary stage to tertiary level, including technical training and any sort of education our people may be involved in," the pamphlet says.

A white university was not immediately necessary and "we refuse to give up the Teachers' Training College".

The HNP's ideal remained "self-determination for each

population group in its own area with constitutional integration for the whites with their fellow whites in South Africa".

ROMANIA SAID TO PLUNDER COASTAL FISH RESOURCES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Dec 85 p 24

[Text] WINDHOEK — Rumanian fishing vessels were responsible for 90 percent of the reported violations of Namibian territorial waters in the past year, officials from Windhoek have told an international conference in Spain.

The conference in Tarragona is the annual meeting of the International Conference on South-East Atlantic Fisheries (ICSEAF).

Members are those countries which fish the rich waters of the Namibian coast for hake, mackerel and maasbanker.

Namibian Secretary for Economic Affairs Dr Piet Kruger and Director of Sea Fisheries Dr Jan Jurgens attended the conference.

They told delegates that the plunder of fish resources off the coast of their country was continuing.

Apart from violating the territorial waters of Namibia, many of the fishing vessels were guilty of using nets smaller than the minimum size in order to increase their catches, they said.

None of the ICSEAF countries pays any notice to Namibia's 200-mile "economic zone" off the coast.

The zone was declared by the National Assembly in Windhoek in 1979 but many countries argue that it was illegal because the territory is still administered by South Africa.

Vessels from a number of countries, but particularly from Russia and its Eastern Bloc allies, haul hundreds of thousands of tons of fish out of the south-east Atlantic each year.

Recently, when the United Nations Council for Namibia proposed that the 200-mile economic zone be recognised, it was opposed by Russia and Swaziland.

IMPORTANCE, NATURE OF TIES WITH PORTUGAL DISCUSSED

Smooth Relations Urged

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 23 Nov 85 pp 3-4

[Article by Jorge Feio]

[Text] President Manuel Pinto da Costa of the republics of Sao Tome and Principe yesterday asked the Portuguese deputies to avoid situations likely to upset the "good relations existing between our two countries."

In this connection, he urged even "closer and more effective" cooperation, recalling the Portuguese constitution calls for priority for the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa.

In the view of Pinto da Costa, the Portuguese Parliament can play a very significant role in the cooperation area, specifically working with the National People's Assembly of Sao Tome, which, he said, is entirely willing to engage in dialogue. The Chief of State of Sao Tome said that the solidarity between the two institutions should prove "full of content," and he stressed that "we would be pleased to see effective steps toward cooperation by this parliament." This would be cooperation not limited to the realm of bilateral relations, but rather expanded to include the defense of peace and social progress on a world scale, within the context of other parliaments in the world are doing.

Marques Mendes, acting president of the Assembly of the Republic in the absence of the titular president, Fernando Amaral, who is ill, praised the president of Sao Tome, in turn, stating that his is not a "mere gesture of protocol." This is because "it goes farther, because its origins go back and its real foundation lies in the existence of a historic past characterized by a strong cultural and civilizational identity for our two peoples, of which the use of the same language is the most perennial and justifiable expression."

Prior to the ceremony at the Assembly of the Republic, Pinto da Costa had met following luncheon with Prime Minister Cavaco Silva. The head of the Portuguese executive branch said that our country, in the final analysis, "cannot serve as a springboard for the activity of the groups opposed to the

government" of the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa. He added that "following the line established in 1980 by the Sa Carneiro government, we will enter into a new stage in our relations with the Portuguese-speaking countries of Africa."

Also during the morning, Pinto da Costa met with members of the diplomatic corps accredited to Lisbon.

New Horizons for Cooperation

In a meeting with Portuguese journalists, President Pinto da Costa said in connection with the personal talks he has had with President Ramalho Eanes and various Portuguese bodies, that these contacts are in his opinion important.

He went on to explain. "They are important because I believe that a useful rapprochement effectively represents mutual understanding. There was a certain period when many passions ran high, preventing a continuing dialogue between us. I must say that I regard these contacts as extremely important, because they will allow us to realize immediately that we have identical interests, and that we are therefore in a good position to undertake closer cooperation enabling us to pursue effective actions in the direction of achieving satisfaction of these common interests."

We can say that this statement by the president clearly reflects the spirit which generally characterizes a large part of the leaders in Sao Tome, that is they reflect the desire evidenced by many natives of Sao Tome and Principe for a closer relationship with Portugal. This relationship was seriously affected during the period which followed the winning of independence, when the resulting radical concepts with a strong ideological stamp prevailed in the political orientation of the new country. They prevailed until the harsh realities imposed, on the end, more pragmatic viewpoints, until the conclusion was reached that "the people cannot eat ideology," to put it as one of those responsible for the government of Sao Tome and Principe did.

Within the framework of this new way of thinking which is beginning to imbue the decisions of the administration, the near future will certainly demonstrate how far relations with Portugal can go. To date regarded as good, they must nonetheless be optimized. And this expression, as intended by the man who used it, Minister of Cooperation Carlos Tiny, to be specific, means that our country's cooperation with Sao Tome and Principe will have to move outside the narrow framework in which it has occurred. It will have to encompass broader horizons, including the dispatch and training of cadres, more intensive participation in studies and projects, more effective action in the fields of finance and health, and broader cooperation, so that the people of Sao Tome can carry the battle they will wage for increased and more diversified production through to the end.

In this last connection, as is obvious, the leaders of Sao Tome and Principe would like Portugal's contribution to include greater and more concerned cooperation in the realms of agriculture, processing industries and tourism.

While it might be said that the necessary political desire to meet these aspirations of the people of Sao Tome has existed in Lisbon, as the country's officials are unanimous in recognizing, that political desire will not in itself be enough. The establishment by the government headed by Mario Soares of credit totaling 25 million contos for Sao Tome and Principe was cited as an example of this political desire. And the fact that this major credit, of the greatest importance to Sao Tome and Principe, continues to be blocked, such that to date it has not been possible to derive any practical effect from it, serves as further proof that such a desire is not sufficient, above all when it gets entangled in the bureaucratic hindrances which block the mechanisms of the state.

Contrasting with this inability of the Portuguese state to get the mechanisms leading to effective, useful and timely cooperation in operation, is the action of a private organization known as the Gulbenkian Foundation. It has been carrying an exhaustive study of the educational sector, unprecedented in its vast scope, providing a broad and profound assessment of all of the shortcomings and the potential of the educational system in Sao Tome and Principe. On the basis of this study, it will be possible to reformulate concepts and strategies designed to promote greater efficiency, with the indispensable aid of specialized world organizations, in the educational field, which is regarded as oriented basically toward filling the gaps existing in various sectors of life in Sao Tome.

Cultural Ties

All of this will be discussed in Lisbon by President Pinto da Costa and the members of the delegation accompanying him. All of these issues reflect the opportunities available to private Portuguese investors, acting individually or as a part of mixed enterprises, for establishing an active presence in the effort of Sao Tome and Principe to renew its economy, whether on the level of farm projects, processing industries or the establishment of a tourist industry.

But both for Sao Tome and Principe and Portugal, and in particular the latter, efficient cooperation further involves another basic aspect, which is the effort to present the linguistic and cultural ties which still represent, so to speak, the true umbilical cord linking Portugal to the recently established Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, from dwindling away.

Within this context, and on the official level, in addition to the notable effort made by Portuguese cooperative workers who are teaching and popularizing the common language in the schools in Sao Tome under frequently difficult conditions, an outstanding effort has been developed in recent months by the Portuguese Cultural Center recently established in Sao Tome, under the direction, and thanks to the diligent efforts, of Manuel da Silva Pereira, the press and cultural attache at the Portuguese embassy.

Apart from the indispensable support it has provided to the Portuguese teachers, supplying them with the didactic texts and materials essential for the fulfillment of their mission, which might perhaps without it be hopelessly compromised, the Portuguese cultural center maintains a vast library of books

by Portuguese authors, including new courses in our language for foreign cooperative workers. This facility has been utilized by individuals of various nationalities. The center also engages in various cultural activities, sponsoring exhibitions, lectures and film series.

Cooperation with Sao Tome and Principe is not only limited to what comes from Portugal, however. Various other countries in the West or in the socialist sector also participate in it. These countries include France, the GDR and the USSR, Cuba and China, North Korea and Vietnam. Some of them are involved with the construction of public buildings and dams, others in teaching and health, and still others in agricultural projects and the establishment and maintenance of factory units.

There have sometimes been cases in which this collaboration fails to take our national reality into proper account. This was the case, for example, with a tile factory supplied by the GDR. What happened in fact was that the tile production of this factory exceeded the full capacity of the domestic market to absorb it, apart from the fact that production consumed more electricity than the whole of the island of Sao Tome, and this in a country where the people, faced with a dramatic housing shortage, usually seek the solution in the building of wooden houses. That this was the fault of the citizens of Sao Tome themselves was the justification put forth for this unusual case by the minister of cooperation. According to Carlos Tiny, in fact, this occurred because the officials who agreed to the installation of the factory forgot that one cannot build with tiles alone, and that the production of the other essential construction materials was also required. Now it is this which an attempt is currently being made to do, and this factory, with its production, can be a determining factor in making the government capable of implementing its self-construction project, with which it hopes to resolve the housing problem in part. Again, this is the view of the minister.

Attracting Capital

In a country in which the foreign debt totals about \$80 million, as compared to a general state budget of approximately \$40 million per year, the need to resolve problems such as the production of food goods, which account for the greater part of the foreign debt, is obvious and urgent. Where I was concerned, the country exists on what is generously provided to it by Angola, at special prices and payment conditions, and the development of processing industries, which only keep within the country a part of the plus value resulting from the industrial processing of its farm production.

It is definitely here that the administration in Sao Tome will embark forcefully on the effort to attract foreign capital, with priority, insofar as possible, for Portuguese investors. This is the message President Pinto da Costa tried to carry to the industrialists in Portugal. What he will explain to them, on setting forth the provisions of the new foreign investment code, will doubtless include the guarantees that can be offered to them, so that they can invest their capital under safe and stable conditions.

There are many who believe, however, that however favorable the new code may be for investors, the great future for the economy of Sao Tome will lie in the

establishment of a free zone or tax paradise capable of attracting a large volume of foreign capital, as has been done in other countries. This would transform Sao Tome and Principe, then, in a country which could become a very important service zone.

Portugal to Benefit

Lisbon DIARIO DE NOTICIAS in Portuguese 26 Nov 85 p 3

[Text] President of Sao Tome and Principe Manuel Pinto da Costa has said that Portugal is the most privileged partner in cooperation with Sao Tome, because it is the Portuguese who best understand the reality in his country.

Speaking at a press conference at the end of his official 6-day visit to Portugal, Pinto da Costa said that the "main purpose" of his talks in Lisbon and Oporto was to dynamize economic cooperation between Sao Tome and Portugal.

The chief of state of Sao Tome said he viewed cooperation with Portugal as "rather positive," but he said that now that 10 years have passed since independence was won, there is a new objective approach to the reality today which will make it possible to strengthen bilateral cooperation.

Concerning foreign investments in Sao Tome and Principe, Pinto da Costa announced that the new foreign investment code will be approved in January of 1986.

"Investors will be allowed to recover the foreign capital invested and to transfer profits abroad," Pinto da Costa explained in response to a question.

On the other hand, Pinto da Costa announced, the World Bank will allocate financing, also next January, for the rehabilitation of farm enterprises, in some cases with the participation of Portuguese technicians and enterprises.

"There is no alternative for Sao Tome and Principe but to remain neutral," the president of Sao Tome emphasized in response to a question about the principles and practice of nonalignment, which has been a basic principle for Sao Tome in its political and cooperative relations.

Concerning cooperation in the defense sector, the president of Sao Tome and Principe said that his country "does not close its doors to Portugal in this realm."

Pinto da Costa insisted that the geostrategic importance of his country makes it obvious that "the existence of foreign military bases in Sao Tome would mean that the leaders of Sao Tome did not understand the reality in their country."

The chief of state of Sao Tome said on the other hand that an Angolan military contingent remains in his country, since "in view of the necessity to defend the country and the lack of an army" in 1977, an appeal was made to the other four Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa for aid.

Meanwhile, the wife of the president of Sao Tome, who accompanied him to Lisbon, was presented with the medal of merit by the Portuguese Red Cross for her "contribution in devotion and friendship to the goals of the organization."

5157

CSO: 3442/69

MOMOH DISCUSSES GENERAL ELECTIONS, REVENUE INVESTIGATIONS

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 6 Dec 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] President Dr. J. S. Momoh with just about ten days in office, has been quietly but firmly setting his own style of doing business.

He has made it clear to his Cabinet and non Cabinet Ministers that he intends to call a general election early next year which means that the present Ministerial positions are only temporary.

The President has also stressed that the elections would be free and fair and has warned that any candidate involving in violence would be immediately disqualified.

The new President himself emphasises that he expects a good example set by his Ministers in their comportment and performance which would serve as a guide to their staff and the people generally.

Arriving at State House daily by 8 a.m. himself Dr. Momoh has indicated that he expects State House staff to be at work equally early. State House staff are now reportedly in their offices between 7 30 a.m. and 7 45 a.m.

President Momoh is also currently working on the composition of a number of Communittees which will look into the situation of some of the country's major revenue earners.

Informed sources intimated that the SLPMB and Customs may feature prominently in these investigations.

The Committees will comprise of economists and accountants mainly but, the DAILY MAIL has found out none of the members may be government employees.

It is reliably learnt that the University will be providing some of the experts.

The electorate, President Momoh said must be given a chance to electing people of their choice.

CSO: 3400/898

SIERRA LEONE

SOVIET CULTURAL DELEGATION ARRIVES

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 23 Dec 85 p 5

[Text] The days of the USSR in Sierra Leone, a period set aside each year to draw world attention to the Soviet momentum of social life and the state of the USSR economy has been graced by a one-week Photo and Arts Exhibition and three days performance by a visiting Soviet Folk Arts group.

A delegation from the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic represented the 15 republics of the Soviet Union at this year's celebrations and its leader, Mr. Aziz Tureav is Chairman of the Uzbek State Committee for Cinematography and a member of the Council of Ministers.

The week long Photo and Arts Exhibition held at the Russian Language House Brookfields depicted the rise of Uzbekistan as one of the World's leaders in the mining and exporting of copper, lead and zinc.

At the end of the three performances by the Uzbek Republic folk artists at the Miatta Conference Hall, Adjai Crowther Amphitheatre, FBC and the Brookfields hotel gardens, large audiences were entertained with Uzbek and modern popular classics and folk songs.

In an exclusive interview with the leader of the Uzbek delegation, Mr Aziz Tureav, he gave the assurance that the Sierra Leone-Soviet Friendship and fraternity will develop with the exchange of culture, creative visits and the promotion of cinematography.

Mr Tureav stressed that the Communist party of the Soviet Union is geared towards the fight for peace, disarmament and the prevention of a nuclear war, and pointed out that the recent Gorbachev-Reagan Geneva summit meeting was one of the peace loving nature having the endorsement of all the peoples of the USSR.

The visit was made possible by the Sierra Leone-Soviet Friendship Society and the Russian Language House in conjunction with ATTA Travelling Agency.

CSO: 3400/900

MINAH DENIES LEBANESE HARASSMENT

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 16 Dec 85 p 3

[Excerpt] The business community in Sierra Leone has been charged with its own responsibility in the "New Order" by an appeal from President Joseph Saidu Momoh to be reasonable in the pricing mechanism and to refrain from making life difficult for the ordinary man who wanted essential commodities at reasonable prices.

Meanwhile, First Vice President Francis Minah has told the Lebanese Ambassador Dr. Millia Habib that there was no link between customs malpractices and deportation.

The First Vice President said these were matters that had been going on for quite sometime now and as a government it was a bounding duty to put the interest of its citizens foremost.

Mr. Minah who was speaking to the ambassador during a courtesy call assured Mr. Habib that the deportation move was not being done with the intention of stimulating the disaffection of Lebanese in Sierra Leone.

He however pointed out that when it comes to taking punitive measures government does not single out Lebanese as evidenced in the deportation of an Indian and Senegalese businessmen.

Mr. Minah disclosed that the names of Sierra Leoneans involved in similar malpractices will be announced soon.

Ambassador Habib assured Mr. Minah that he would work with government in ensuring that only law abiding Lebanese would stay in the country.

CSO: 3400/899

SIERRA LEONE

MOMOH ADDRESSES POLICE ON PROPER ROLE, BEHAVIOR

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 6 Dec 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] President Major General Dr. Joseph Saidu Momoh drove a hard line into the police force on Monday when he called on the Inspector General and senior police officers to raise with immediate effect their level of performance and restore their past glorious image.

At a special meeting at the State House, the President warned that if the police failed to do their job, he and his government would be left with no choice but to resort to other measures including hiring expatriate officers if that was what was required to win back the trust and confidence of the people and ensure the enforcement of law and order and discipline on a proper footing in the country.

He however emphasised that the final choice of his government in that matter would be determined by the level of performance of the police as seen and judged by him, the government and the people.

Major General Momoh expressed the hope that in recognition of the binding duties and loyalty to the government and people of Sierra Leone, such a step would be avoided.

Dr Momoh called on the police to combat with all-out vigour smuggling, profiteering and hoarding of essential goods which he described as the most pressing economic ills in the country.

The President said that while some of the road blocks are essential for the security of the country, road blocks should not be used to harass motorists and ordinary citizens.

The Major General expressed grave concern at the increasing rate of armed robberies over the last three years especially in main urban centres including the city, and suggested that an effective and permanent machinery should be instituted to ensure that the menace is eradicated from the society.

The President called for greater vigilance to be exercised in mining areas and border towns not only to protect the economic interest of the state, but also preserve security.

Noting that an efficient police force must be reasonably content, President Momoh assured the Officers that government would constantly keep in view their welfare.

The Inspector General of Police, Mr Patrick Johnson told the Head of State that they had been weeding through difficulties of all sorts which hampered their work.

He hoped that the President would soon look into their priorities which if satisfied, would make for a more effective and efficient police force.

CSO: 3400/898

DEPORTATIONS OF BUSINESSMEN

Customs Fraud Violation Deportations

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 6 Dec 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] The Government demonstrated its no-nonsense stance when three businessmen two Lebanese and an Indian-Hilal Toufic Imad Murad and T D Punjab were deported from Sierra Leone this week.

A Government announcement which said the deportation orders took immediate effect on Wednesday and Thursday charged the three men with invoice irregularities and subsequent underpayment of custom duties and fees.

The two Lebanese, Toufic of 6 Regent Road, Murad of 19 Wilberforce Street and the Indian, Punjab of 36 Kissy Road, all of Freetown, were fined a total of Le160,000 and were also ordered to pay additional duty of more than Le141,000 for tampering with import invoices thereby paying less duties and fees on goods they imported into the country.

The men were arraigned before the Controller of Customs and Excise and Toufic, a general merchant dealing in provision and consumer goods was fined Le60,000 and asked to pay customs duty of Le56,504 40 cents, Murad was fined Le50,000 and ordered to pay duty of Le43,760. 82 cents and Punjab was fined Le60,000 and ordered to pay additional duty of Le4,708.20 cents.

More Deportations

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 12 Dec 85 p 5

[Text] In the wake of government campdown on illegal transactions in the country, two more foreign businessmen, a Lebanese and a senegalese have been deported for falsification of import documents.

The Lebanese, Hilal Bahsoon of Regent Road, Freetown was deported and the Senegalese Mohamed Sall was ordered out of the country following deportation of two other Lebanese and an Indian earlier last week.

Mr. Bahsoon a government statement announcing the deportation said, appeared before the Comptroller of Customs on charges of invoice irregularities and subsequent underpayment of customs duty and fees. He was fined Le80,000 and ordered to pay an additional duty of Le53,930.

Mr. Mohamed Sall, a government statement said also appeared before the Comptroller of Customs on Friday and was fined Le50,000 and ordered to pay an additional duty of Le8,354.83 cents.

Last week, three foreign businessmen, Hilal Toufic and Imad Murad both Lebanese and an Indian T.D. Punjab were deported from Sierra Leone on similar charges.

Meanwhile, another Senegalese trader, Diallo Alassane forfeited the sum of 1,000. 675 CFA Francs. 600 French Francs and 100 dollars he had brought into the country after failing to declare the large amount in accordance with financial regulations.

Alassane was arrested by the Special Anti-Smuggling Squad and when he was questioned, the monies were found hidden in his trousers.

When he appeared before the Comptroller of Customs, Mr. R.J. Williams, Alassane was ordered to surrender the monies.

He was cautioned.

Fines, Deportations

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 23 Dec 85 pp 1, 24

[Text] The dragnet of the Anti Smuggling Squad continues to wade through the muddy waters of the Sierra Leone business and two more businessmen have been caught in the exercise and they have been given the marching orders out of Sierra Leone.

The government ordered the immediate deportations of the two--Mr. Hassan Waznin a Lebanese national and Mr. Mohamed Kishini Jabbie, a Gambian national last Saturday, for engaging in illegal activities in the diamond areas in the Kono District.

This brings the total number of businessmen deported so far for various customs malpractices to six.

Four others, Hilal Toufic, Hilal Bahsoon, Mohamed Saal and Punjabi had earlier been deported.

Another foreigner Mr Alie Sulaiman, a lebanese national, has been declared a prohibited immigrant.

In another development the Comptroller of Customs and Excise has imposed a fine of Le50,000 on a Foulah businessman, Mr Abu Bakarr Jawaneh of 60 Regent Road, Freetown, for invoice irregularities and subsequent under-payment of duty.

Mr Jawaneh, was said to have promptly produced a Sierra Leonean birth certificate to prove his Sierra Leonean Nationality.

Another businessman, Mr Bangally Sillah a Gambian National, was also arrested last Saturday for failing to declare the sum of 45,000 CFA francs in bank notes.

The amount has since been impounded by the airport authorities and the matter referred to the Comptroller of Customs Mr A. Williams.

A consignment of 23 cartons of "First Luxury Virginia King Size Cigarette's has also been impounded.

CSO: 3400/899

MOMOH STRESSES NEED FOR AGRICULTURAL RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 16 Dec 85 pp 1, 10

[Text] President Joseph Saidu Momoh has signalled an urgent 'SOS' message to the farming community in Sierra Leone and the government on the need to develop the nation's agricultural resources in order to derive the maximum benefit for the economic progress of the country.

The Head of State emphasised that his administration will embark on what he termed "bold initiatives to give farmers moral and material support to ensure that the much talked of self-sufficiency in food production does not remain a meaningless political slogan but a realistic and achievable national objective.

Dr. Momoh who was addressing the official opening ceremony of this year's Koinadugu District Agricultural show at Kabala disclosed a startling figure of seven million dollars as the amount being spent yearly to import rice and described the situation as one of the agonising worries of the present situation.

He maintained that the use of seven million dollars for the importation of rice means seven million dollars less to spend on hospitals, roads, schools and similar basic amenities.

President Momoh said he was aware that lack of access to a dynamic market caused by the difficult situation of the Fadugu Kabala road has constituted the most frustrating disincentive to steady and sustainable agricultural growth in the district noting that two weeks in office as President was not enough to allow him to make a policy pronouncement on this important and unfinished road link.

Dr. Momoh however recalled that last September he personally offered a modest amount to launch a self-help programme for the road construction.

He explained that the main reason why government decided to locate the Koinadugu Integrated Agricultural Development Project and the small-scale Vegetable Project (FAO) Norwegian Project for Women in Food Production Activities in Kabala was that there were approximately 20,300 small scale farm families in the district.

The ACRE Project, co-financed by the government of Sierra Leone and the United States has one of its zonal headquarters in Koinadugu district.

The ACRE Project, co-financed by the government of Sierra Leone and the United States has one of its zonal headquarters in Koinadugu district.

Speaking on re-afforestation, President Momoh said every effort should be made to reduce the rate of destruction of the forest trees and to replace those that have been cut down.

On livestock production, he warned that his government will not allow cattle, particularly breeding stock to be smuggled out of the country.

Dr. Momoh warned cattle owners to desist from such practice, or face punitive measures.

He also appealed to livestock owners to devote attention to the production of small ruminants--sheep and goats--because of the shorter period of time involved in their production as compared to that required for cattle productions.

CSO: 3400/898

ITALY TO IMPLEMENT THREE RICE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Freetown DAILY MAIL in English 16 Dec 85 p 3

[Text] An extensive rice programme which will involve the development of the Rhombe swamp, the further development of Torma Bum and the Gbondapi rice projects is to start in March next year.

The programme will be implemented by the Italian government.

This was disclosed when the Italian Foreign Minister, Professor Francisco Forte called on President Joseph Saidu Momoh at the State House.

The programme was initiated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in collaboration with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry.

President Momoh received a commitment from the Italian government towards the realization of the programme through Professor Forte and during a discussion on prospect of the programme, the Italian delegation assured the Head of State and the nation that the decision to implement the programme had already been taken by the Italian government and that they would do their best to ensure the early implementation of the projects.

Thanking the delegation for calling on him President said he was happy that feasibility studies conducted on the Rhombe's swamp in 1947 was about to be implemented.

Dr. Momoh who said he looked forward most anxiously for the immediate realisation of the Rhombe swamp Development Project, emphasised that Sierra Leoneans will welcome most heartily anyone who comes to assist in rice production the nation's staple food.

He said the rice project, when implemented through Italian assistance, could be a stepping stone to greater co-operation between Sierra Leone and Italy.

Already, Sierra Leone government application and project documentation for assistance in agricultural development has been formerly submitted to the Italian government.

CSO: 3400/900

CHINESE DELEGATION LEADER PRAISES TIES

Harare THE HERALD in English 6 Jan 86 p 3

[Text] China and Zimbabwe will fight shoulder to shoulder against South Africa and its racist government, the deputy director of the international liaison department of the Communist Party of China, Cde Zhu Junfa, has said.

Cde Junfa is leading a four member delegation on a one-month study tour of development projects in the country.

Addressing a meeting of Matabeleland South Zanu (PF) central committee and provincial members and Government officials in Gwanda on Christmas eve, Cde Junfa said China would face the struggle against South Africa together with Zimbabwe and other African states. Countries still under colonial rule such as Namibia had to be freed.

The delegation, which was accompanied by the provincial administrator, Cde Phillip Bhebe, and the Zanu (PF) provincial chairman, Cde Joshua Mafilila, toured the Gwanda district hospital where the delegation was impressed by the new medical training centre being built at a cost of \$6 million. They also visited provincial government offices under construction, low-cost houses in Jahunda high-density suburb and the DDF provincial training centre also under construction. Later the delegation were driven to Munyati irrigation scheme and the Mahwabeni growth point in Umzingane district.

Earlier in December the delegation visited development projects in Bindura, Madziwa communal lands, Mount Darwin, Dotito and Chiweshe.

/9274

CSO: 3400/873

TERMS OF PROPOSED PRESIDENTIAL POWERS BILL STUDIED FOR 1986

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jan 86 p 14

[Article by Robin Drew]

[Text]

A memorandum which accompanies the draft of the new Bill explains that during periods when Parliament is in recess, situations quite often arise that require urgent legislation not covered by any existing Act.

The Government is then faced with the option of recalling Parliament or resorting to its powers under the Emergency Powers Act.

The Bill, says the memorandum, will offer a third option: it will enable the President to make regulations dealing with any urgent situations that arise or are likely to arise when it is considered necessary or expedient in the interests of defence, public safety, public order, public morality, public health, economic interests or the general public interest.

Memorandum

The memorandum says: "The President's powers under the Bill will be very far-reaching, extending even to suspending, amending and modifying acts of Parliament, but they will be limited in two important respects.

"Regulations made under the Bill will not be able to contravene or override the Declaration of Rights, so the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution will be preserved.

"Second, the regulations will have a limited life. They will expire 180

days after their promulgation, though Parliament will be able effectively to ratify them by incorporating their provisions into permanent legislation."

In Zimbabwe the President acts on the advice of the Cabinet. The initial reaction of some lawyers was that the terms of the Bill were so sweeping that they amounted to government by Cabinet decree.

While accepting that the Government had to have the power to deal with urgent matters when Parliament was not sitting, they felt that the six-month period in which the regulations could remain in force without parliamentary endorsement was too long.

However, diplomatic sources in Harare made the point that most governments had powers of this nature in reserve and the test would be how the Zimbabwe Government used them.

The country has been under a general state of emergency since 1965 when the Rhodesian Government of Mr Ian Smith introduced it shortly before the unilateral declaration of independence.

Since then it has been renewed by successive parliaments and it is due for renewal again towards the end of this month.

The belief here is that the introduction of the Presidential Powers Bill could be the forerunner to the lifting of the emergency as it would

enable the government to cope with urgent situations encompassing virtually every activity.

For example, it specifically provides that the President may make regulations providing for "the suspension, amendment, or modification of any law or of any order of any court or tribunal".

Property may be temporarily taken over, prices regulated and regulations made to control the employment of people in any occupation.

Contentious

However, one of the most contentious issues of the emergency powers, the detention of people without trial for an indefinite period, would still require approval by Parliament, something which it can do in terms of the Constitution.

Other regulations, however, made under the state of emergency will be deemed to have been made under the new Bill if the state of emergency expires or is replaced by a resolution by Parliament authorising preventive detention.

The Bill is in draft form at present and has been sent to legal bodies for their comments.

As yet there has been no public debate on the new measure within Zimbabwe.

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CSO: 3400/870

PROFILE OF NEW AIR FORCE COMMANDER TUNGAMIRAI

Harare THE HERALD in English 4 Jan 86 p 5

[Text] The appointment of Air Marshal Josiah Tungamirai to the command of the Air Force of Zimbabwe makes it the first time ever in the history of modern Zimbabwe that all the armed and uniformed forces are being headed by blacks.

Air Marshal Tungamirai has only been with the AFZ for three years. But he is no stranger to the armed forces, having been a guerilla commander during the Chimurenga and one of the first senior members of the new Zimbabwe National Army.

A shy man with a passion for hard work, the new commander has impressed even the once sceptical veteran airmen against whom he fought as a guerilla.

In the five years that he has been in the armed forces of an independent Zimbabwe Air Marshal Tungamirai has dedicated every minutes of those years to learning. He was still learning the ropes of administering a national army when he was transferred to the air force as the first black Chief of Staff.

In an interview with The Herald soon after being appointed, the new air force chief said he hoped to maintain the air force as an efficient operational wing of Zimbabwe's defence system.

Although most of the Pakistanis were leaving, Air Marshal Tungamirai believes that friendly country, together with others that have been helping the air force, will continue to play a role in the training of local personnel.

The new chief, who has been Chief of Staff and understudying Air Marshal Azim Daudpota for 2-1/2 years, says he is optimistic that the air force will be self-sufficient in technicians within the next two to three years.

By that time, the AFZ will have sufficient qualified technicians to be training others. "We hope, of course, to continue sending personnel outside the country for specialised training," Air Marshal Tungamirai said.

On the operational side of the air force, the new chief says "major strides" have been made in Africanising the cockpit.

Although there were sufficient transport pilots, almost all of them blacks, experience was still lacking.

"We have a number of youngsters who are just on their way up and are doing extremely well," he said. "They continue being trained by the more experienced and better qualified pilots. We are happy with their progress."

Asked if there was a possibility of the air force helping with the training of civil aviation pilots since they had the facilities. Air Marshal Tungamirai said: "We are open to suggestions."

But considering that the air force had only a few experienced transport pilots and Air Zimbabwe would only require the best, would they be in a position to provide without running the risk of jeopardising their own operations?

"Not quite," the Air Marshal said. "We have at the moment four very good black transport pilots whom we could in time consider only seconding to Air Zimbabwe for a certain period. We believe it would be profitable not only to Air Zimbabwe but to the air force as well in the long run."

He named the four as flight-lieutenants Jack Ranga, Fortune Chiwara, Fortune Tshuma and Edwin Dube.

On fighter pilots, the commander says there are "several" who have returned home after undergoing basic training in foreign countries. Those who returned earlier have already been flying operations. The rest are undergoing retraining on local systems, operations and converting to AFZ fighter planes.

"We are not rushing into this. We want to be very careful in what we are doing to maintain at professional force that the nation can rely on."

Air Marshal Tungamirai is himself a professional having started as a Zanla cadre in 1970 and working his way up to command level by the time of the Lancaster House conference.

Born of a peasant family in Gutu district of Masvingo Province on October 8 1948, Air Marshal Tungamirai did his primary education at Mutero Mission before moving on to Chihwengwezha Seminary for his four years of secondary education.

Salisbury Polytechnic was his next stop for the A level and soon after completing his studies, left Rhodesia to join the liberation struggle.

"I just couldn't stand the oppression, suppression and exploitation of blacks by the minority regime. So I decided to join the liberation movement and left the country through Botswana," Air Marshal Tungamirai says.

He ended up in Tanzania training in guerilla warfare at the Ituli camp in southern Tanzania. Training in revolutionary warfare followed at the most famous of the Zanla camps in Tanzania at Mugagao, also in the south of the country.

A year later, and only 22 years old, Cde Tungamirai was part of a 15-man guerilla unit which was to link up with another group of 45 who had been deployed in the north-east.

In 1972 he was one of three to enter Zimbabwe on a reconnaissance mission and promotion followed soon after that to full membership of the Zanla general staff.

He was appointed sectoral security officer for Chamumba and in June 1973 became the deputy provincial field logistics officer for Mozambique-Malawi-Zimbabwe Province (known internally as North-East province).

By 1975 he had been promoted to Chimurenga High Command before being jailed by the Zimbian government together with the rest of the command following the assassination of Zanu chairman, Cde Herbert Chitepo.

After being released 18 months later he was appointed Chief of Personnel and then Chief Political Commissar, becoming the No. 3 man in Zanla lafter General Josiah Tongogara and the present commander of the army, Lt-General Rex Nhongo.

He was part of the nationalists' delegation to the Lancaster House as special military adviser to General Tongogara. In 1981, Cde Tungamirai was commissioned into the army as Chief of Army General Staff, responsible for operations and training with the rank of major-general.

In 1982 he was appointed acting commander of the army for seven months before being transferred to the air force in December 1982 as Air Vice-Marshal.

The air force chief has resumed where he left off in 1970. He has since obtained his BA (Hons) degree in history from the University of Zimbabwe and has just completed the first of a two-year masters degree course in War and Strategic Studies in the same university.

He was also taken flying lessons under Group Captain Mehdi, now station chief at New Sarum, and has been presented his wings by the Minister of Defence, Cde Mugabe.

He believes that background should be one of his greatest assets as he takes over command.

"The Prime Minister, Cde Mugabe, has shown his trust in me. I am determined never to disappoint him.

"As commander of the AFZ, I want to ensure that our motto--Our wings are the fortress of the nation--is maintained."

The new commander is married to a fellow excombatant Pamela with whom they have two children, all boys.

/9274

CSO: 3400/873

PILOT UNION FACING COLLAPSE

Harare THE HERALD in English 6 Jan 86 p 1

[Text] The predominantly white Pilots' Association of Zimbabwe is meeting in Harare on Thursday to discuss Air Zimbabwe's policies of promoting black pilots and might have to dissolve over the issue.

At the heart of the issue is the old PAZ-AZ agreement that promotion of pilots would be on a "first in, first up" basis.

But since independence a number of black pilots have returned home, some with enough experience to fly as captains. And the corporation has pushed for their promotion as they would otherwise have to wait for years because some of the whites who were employed before them are far behind in experience.

White pilots were particularly angry when two blacks, first officers, Alex Makanda and Obed Mazinyi, were selected for the Boeing 737 course. Before that the management had insisted on Costa Kuuya, the vastly experienced pilot who had worked on Zambia Airways, being checked out as captain.

After much haggling, Kuuya has checked out and became the first black to fly as captain on Air Zimbabwe.

The PAZ expressed its displeasure over that and the corporation's decision to waive the unrealistic 1,000-hour qualification for employment which had prevented all but a handful of foreign-trained black pilots from immediately joining the airline.

In a confidential letter to the members calling for the extraordinary general meeting, PAZ says the policies "are uneconomical and are adversley (sic) affecting safety". It adds that in pointing them out to management, the feeling was that they were trying to keep the black pilots out.

The letter adds: "Present negotiations of the new pilots' agreement indicate management wish to place more and more into their hands. For example, seniority and promotion will be totally in their hands."

A lawyer for the association has recommended that the PAZ take the corporation to court over the matter. The lawyer, a Mr Lake, is quoted in the letter as having advised that "those superseded should be compensated."

Mr Lake apparently feels so strongly that he is prepared to help PAZ free of charge.

The Herald understands that training of first officers at Air Zimbabwe has come to a complete standstill following the departure and resignation of training and route check captains.

Two of the training captains, Mr Roger Paterson and Mr Chris Merchant, have been promoted to fly the 737 and cannot now instruct on the Viscount. Another training captain has resigned his training captaincy. So have an unspecified number of route check captains.

One captain, Mr Keith Fincham, has now taken over as training captain, but this has not yet brought the training schedule back to normal.

That there is no training captain is hitting young black pilots. The black pilots believe it is all being done in protest against management's policy to promote eligible blacks without tagging them at the end of the queue.

Although the corporation's chief executive, Cde Augustine Mutyambizi, could not be contacted for comment yesterday, it is believed that his policy is that blacks will be promoted once they acquire the necessary experience.

Zimbabwean blacks who come qualified will be treated as having acquired the experience at Air Zimbabwe. He is said to be "going full steam ahead" with plans to correct the imbalances in the operations department without compromising safety.

The sources said that white pilots were worried that three blacks, the highly experienced former Air Force of Zimbabwe jet fighter and transport squadron instructor, Mr Robin Thomas, and the two black 737 first officers, Cdes Makanda and Mazinyi, might be made Viscount captains ahead of whites who have been with the corporation longer but are not as experienced.

The black pilots and the management will be watching the outcome of Thursday's meeting.

/9274

CSO: 3400/872

MINISTRY STUDIES INLAND DAMS POWER PROJECT

Harare THE HERALD in English 6 Jan 86 p 1

[Text] Energy experts are studying the feasibility of establishing small hydro-electric plants on dams, using technology from the Far East, the Minister of Energy and Water Resources and Development, Cde Kumbirai Kangai, has said.

He told The Herald in an interview that energy experts from the Department of Energy Research had accompanied him on the Prime Minister's tour of China and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in August last year.

The idea had been to encourage the Zimbabwean experts to provide electricity from readily available and small water sources.

"The delegation to China and Korea showed they have technology for generating electricity from dams which are not as big as Kariba. In fact we could use dams like Lake McIlwaine and Darwendale," said Cde Kangai.

"We are studying that technology and we will invite our friends to assist us to set up these projects."

Zimbabwe was importing power from Zambia at the tune of 350 megawatts to meet its shortfall every month.

"We are a long way from self-sufficiency. Right now we are importing power as our economy consumes quite a lot of power. If we were to start an expansion programme it would take a long time to commission its projects."

But eventually Zambia would not have any power to spare for Zimbabwe and so contingency plans were being made.

On rural electrification the minister said the most significant feature of 1985 was that his ministry had seen the completion and opening of projects in Gokwe, Murehwa, Zaka and Hauna in Honde Valley.

Businessmen with shops and grinding mills had been among those that benefited.

In the past, Cde Kangai said, "the Electricity Supply Commission used to move the grid to the growth centres. They then left the actual electrification of

buildings to the consumer. Because of this we had instances where power was not used, resulting in the loss of a lot of money to the nation."

"Now the ESC does both the construction of the grid as well as the reticulation of buildings. All the new consumer gets is an installation bill."

This system was more convenient because consumers applied in advance and the ESC knew in time at which places to install the electricity.

The September increase in electricity charges had not affected the rural electrification programme because prospective consumers took stock of their requirements based on income and expenditure before applying for electricity, so that they were able to pay for the electricity.

Only the big consumers in urban areas experienced problems from the increase in charges, but then the ESC had powers of dispensation in cases of hardships.

/9274

CSO: 3400/872

BRIEFS

NORWEGIANS HELP BUILD 400 WELLS--More than 400 boreholes have been drilled in Mashonaland at a cost of \$2 million--thanks to efforts by Interconsult, a Norwegian consultant engineering company. A spokesman for Interconsult told The Herald yesterday that his company and the Ministry of Energy and Water Resources and Development ran the project from November 1984 to August 1985 with funds from Norad, the Norwegian aid agency. Among some of the areas given boreholes are Mhondoro-Ngezi, Wedza, Mutoko, Mudzi and Sanyati. "This has been made possible through the cooperation of the local community who have provided stones, sand and bricks for construction," the spokesman said. Each borehole can supply about 100 families with water. The exercise has now been extended to Manicaland where nine boreholes have already been drilled. Areas covered by the project are Nyanga, Chipinge and Makoni. "We try to concentrate on areas where there is acute shortage of water," the spokesman said. Interconsult was trying to mobilise rural communities to help in the construction of both wells and boreholes. Money has been set aside for the provision of sanitation which includes the building of 4,000 Blair toilets. The only difficulty in the drilling of boreholes, the spokesman said, was the rains. "However, we hope that once the rains are over, we will be able to move in quickly and effectively." [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 4 Jan 86 p 5] /9274

REFUGEES' STARVATION STORIES DENIED--Gaborone--More than 250 Zimbabwean refugees have returned to their country from the camp at Dukwe, in northern Botswana. The camp was built to accommodate Zimbabweans fleeing from clashes between troops and dissidents in south-western Zimbabwe. Some of the returning refugees have alleged people are starving at Dukwe, but this has been denied by Miss Norma Fraser, spokesman for the United National High Commissioner on Refugees in Gaborone. Last year, only 15 people died in a population of more than 4,500 in Dukwe, she said. Their deaths arose from car accidents in illnesses, not from malnutrition. [Text] [Johannesburg THE STAR in English 13 Jan 86 p 3] /9274

400 STUDENTS FOR CUBA--About 400 Zimbabwean students will go to China every year to train as teachers in technical and scientific subjects. The Cuban Ambassador to Zimbabwe, Cde Alfonso Fraga, said this at a Press conference in Harare marking the 27th anniversary of the Cuban revolution. "Thirty Cuban doctors are expected in the country in May to alleviate the shortage of medical personnel in Zimbabwean hospitals," he added. Cde Fraga said the foreign debt owed by Third World countries was not only unpayable but also uncollectable.

"If we are forced to pay our people will starve, a thing that will breed violence and revolution. What Cuba says is that the debt must be cancelled and a new economic order instituted." The United States "Star Wars" programme was a threat to mankind and Cuba condemned any move to militarise the space, he added. [Text] [Harare THE HERALD in English 7 Jan 86 p 5] /9274

CSO: 3400/872

HENDRIK VERWOERD DESCRIBES IDEAL AFRIKANER STATE

Cape Town LEADERSHIP SA [Special International Edition] in English Jan 86 pp 71, 72

[Article by Hendrik Verwoerd]

[Text] The Afrikaners want their own country. The Germans, French, Japanese, Hungarians, Poles – all peoples have this perfectly natural aspiration.

The Afrikaner is a clearly defined people in Southern Africa where a number of other clearly defined, different nationalities also live. Not all Afrikaans-speaking whites believe the Afrikaner people should have their own homeland. Nevertheless, I write this article as one of the core of Afrikaners for whom an independent Afrikaner state is a firm and unshakeable ideal.

There are Afrikaners who would be content to merge their identity and to form a sub-cultural group, within a larger entity, which would demand their first loyalty. But we can accept that this difference of opinion has been manifested throughout our history. Some Afrikaners in the previous century submitted to British rule, and they had to play a subordinate role in the Cape. Meanwhile a significant body of Afrikaners migrated northwards to found independent republics in the Free State and Transvaal.

This desire for a free and independent national existence for the Afrikaner has always been a driving force in our past, and it still is today. Witness of this is the existence, growth and rapidly increasing influence of organisations like the Vereniging van Oranjerwerkers, Afrikanervolkswag, SABRA, AWB and the CP and HNP. Those in the outside world, as well as inside South Africa who do not take into account this spirit of liberty of the Afrikaner when making projections of the future of Southern Africa, are in for a rude shock when this Afrikaner-nationalism asserts itself in earnest.

Anyone who denies the existence of separate nations and peoples, and with it the impossibility of their convergence into one nation, is incredibly unrealistic.

It is essential for all interested parties to realize that there is a hard core of Afrikaners which is not going to accept being dispossessed of its liberty and country. All acknowledged right-wing leaders have sounded this warning, and to ignore it would create an atmosphere of conflict.

This Afrikaner ideal is often misconstrued as an attempt to lord it over others. Those Afrikaners for whom I speak do not wish to dominate others, as we will not let others dominate us. This is only possible if every people is independent, governing itself, with its own territory. To the Afrikaner this means a radical change in his way of life. He will have to detach himself completely from dependence on foreign labour – usually black labour. This will force him to revise his idea of which part of Southern Africa belongs to him. This is the *real* "reform process", rather than the so-called "reform" to which the Botha Government lays claims. Their reform, in reality, aims at increasingly encouraging the integration process which has been practised in the economic sphere for decades.

Within conservative Afrikaner circles the debate most earnestly discussed nowadays is of a smaller homeland for a homogeneous Afrikaner people, where they can lead their lives in their own way without the presence of foreigners, black or white, either dominating (baasskap) them or being dominated by them.

The theory on which Mr Botha and his liberal allies have built their concept is that all the different groups in South Africa, whether white, black or coloured, will abide by the rules of western democracy and negotiation and that there will be general agreement with the capitalist system. They assume that all the different groups will have only the best intentions towards each other; that common interest will be put before those of each group; that there are values and economic standards valid for, and accepted by, everyone; that decisions on all levels will be taken on a consensus basis around a table. There is no precedent in the past to substantiate this assumption. On the contrary, there is abundant evidence to illustrate that harmony between different groups in one government is only a pipe-dream. I quote Prof M T W Arnheim of Wits University: "History likewise demonstrates that powersharing cannot work in a multiracial or otherwise heterogeneous society" (Power-sharing failures" in *Finance Week*, Nov. 14-20, 1985) The inability of the Botha clique to comprehend this makes them unable to understand the present unrest in black townships. They think calm will be restored by removing "Apartheid" laws. In reality it has encouraged more radical demands.

The Botha government says it is progressing to a peaceful unitary state where all groups will participate equally, respect each other – and grant each other "lebensraum." The history of Africa belies this expectation. The Botha government is leading South Africa into a power struggle between nations in an artificial unitary state. In the final analysis numbers would be the decisive factor. Most probably the Zulu, as the most numerous and most aggressive group, would gain the upper hand, install a Zulu government and dominate all other groups. In such circumstances the role of the whites "must be limited to stimulate indigenous leadership and activity, and then retire to the sidelines ... To liberals a fond farewell with thanks for services rendered, until you are ready to re-enlist as footsoldiers and subordinates" (p 215 C E Silberman in "Crisis in Black and White").

Not every nation would agree to bend the knee to such a Zulu government, certainly not the Xhosa nor the Tswana or Northern Sotho, but especially not the Afrikaners! These groups would either dissociate themselves in a peaceful way from such a unitary state or there would be violence and chaos. The present government policy thus, does not guarantee "stability, peace, prosperity and justice" for the future of SA because it denies the basic reality of incompatible nationalisms, and wishes to force them into one unitary mould – even though they deny it – and pretend to make room for all the groups. Trouble is, everything still takes place in one unit.

Different peoples are incapable of being mixed. The fusion of the different groups economically does not wipe out this nationalism. Temporarily it may be pushed into the background, but the moment a crisis develops, nationalism will again become forcefully apparent. Indeed, this is happening in SA at the moment. In the end there is only one acceptable situation for any group: the freedom to lead its life in its own way on every level, governing its own territory and economy.

The ideal development in SA would thus be a steady growth towards independent national states for different population groups, with every group a decisive majority in its own territory. They would then have to handle their own countries mostly with their own labour as is the case in any normal nation state.

Nevertheless, we take into account 3 important viewpoints:

☐ There are groups in South Africa who do not want their own national state;

☐ Many individuals, black, white, coloured or Asian do not see themselves as part of a specific people and would rather be part of an undefined population, perhaps called South Africans or Azanians, which will gradually grow into a new nation;

☐ The existence of certain "metropolitan areas" where economic structures have so intertwined people of different nationalities that they will always be "grey" areas (e.g. Johannesburg-Soweto, Durban-Pietermaritzburg, Cape Town).

We have, therefore, a two-sided approach: we know what we want for ourselves and will work towards that ideal, but we also do not dictate to others and we do not want to plan their future. Every nation has to find its own way to the future, but we will not allow others to stand in the way of Afrikaner liberty and independence – as we would not stand in their way.

Each group must have its own territory, or if they prefer to integrate with other groups, there must be room for that too. We don't, for instance, expect Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg-Soweto to be part of a future Afrikaner state.

This is the only way through which domination of one group over the other can be prevented, and not by "guarantees for the rights of minority groups in a unitary state" as the Botha government promises.

States formed along these lines, would then be free to decide if they want to co-operate in a federation or something else. One or more of these states quite possibly could be multiracial, alongside the homogeneous nation states.

But we as an essential part of the Afrikaner people (or Boer nation) have no doubt that we won't lie down until we have achieved again our own independent state. We have made our choice – founded on our historical right as a separate nation.

Can this Afrikaner vision still be achieved?

We believe it can. But to that end a few important conditions have to be met.

There has to be an unwavering determination to regain freedom as a nation. The Reagan government of America does not believe we have that will anymore, and consequently openly promotes the process leading to a black government for South Africa. We are nevertheless convinced that our people do have that will. Who is correct only time will tell.

The second condition, which to the Vereniging van Oranjewerkers is decisive, is that the Afrikaner people

will have to become physically the undisputed majority of the inhabitants in the geographical area which it sees as its own fatherland. That, unfortunately for the Afrikaner, is presently nowhere the case in South Africa. He thus has to purposely work to populate definite areas with Afrikaners and other whites who share his ideals. To be a real majority would give us the right to be the true owner and ruler of such an area.

But for that purpose Afrikaners *must* accept the principle that all labour in those areas will have to be done by their own people only. This is the full time job of the Oranjewerkers – starting with white growth points in certain small towns in the platteland as well as in farming areas. The ultimate goal of an independent Afrikaner republic will only be achieved if enough Afrikaners accept this way of life.

Can this vision of the future truly be realised in one district, in a small province of a future unitary state, in a specific state as part of a federation, or perhaps in a full scale new Boer Republic? That will depend on how many Afrikaners and their white partners are going to take up this task, with self sacrifice, hard work and determination.

A last, to us most important, factor has to be mentioned, which shall determine if the vision of an independent Afrikaner State will be achieved. Would it be the will of God? As Christians, Afrikaners believe that no nation comes into existence as a result of man's decisions. All nations come into being as a result of historical events which are controlled by God as Creator of everything. He uses nations to develop the earth and to conserve it even in the most unknown corners. Each nation which fulfils this task He has reason to keep in existence.

The Afrikaner nation has to return to this calling to cultivate our country by ourselves. If God then wants us to live on as a nation, no power on earth will be able to deprive us of it.

In this faith we Afrikaners are working on our freedom ideal.

HEUNIS: GOVERNMENT HOPES TO ESTABLISH 'UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE'

Cape Town LEADERSHIP SA [Special International Edition] in English Jan 86 pp 11, 12, 13, 14

[Article by Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Chris Heunis]

[Text] South Africa is presently engaged in a process directed at full participation of all South African citizens in the political decision-making processes and structures at all levels of government.

This process flows from the South African Government's commitment to the democratic ideal and the establishment of a just and stable society in which the rights, dignity and freedom of all individuals as well as all groups are protected. The government pursues this objective in an evolutionary and constitutional manner which embraces stability and rejects violence and revolution.

In the pursuance of this ideal, South Africa has to invalidate perceptions that dominate contemporary thinking, namely that democracy is not capable of application in so-called culturally, ethnically and racially divided societies, because of the erroneous equation of democracy with majority rule.

The process of democracy was initiated by the peoples of this country in their struggle against overseas colonialism and was originally and primarily led by the white population groups. The result was that the most intense conflict over the last century took place between the South African white communities and the white colonial powers and not between the South African white and black peoples.

Because of the prominent role played by the white groups in the anti-colonial struggle, they held the balance of power when the colonial yoke was finally lifted. Black people were to a large extent left outside the political mainstream.

With the increase in black political awareness during this century, particularly since World War II, the focus

has shifted to black political rights and accommodation, heralding the end of domination inherited from our colonial past. The initial reluctance to face this issue can, *inter alia*, be ascribed to the fear of non-black groups that the result would lead to a substitution of colonial for black domination.

The first real recognition of black rights to political decision-making can be attributed to Dr Verwoerd's acceptance of a black nation's right voluntarily to secede into full political independence if it so desired. Although this ideal represents one manifestation of self-determination it is now accepted that this policy represents only a partial solution, given the relevant geographical, economic and demographic facts. However, it did acknowledge realities, contributed to the emergence of black political leaders, and, at least partially, addressed the need to extend political rights to blacks.

In its approach to this cardinal issue, the government is committed to the democratic ideal, based on universal franchise. However, it should be remembered that this goal is being pursued while taking cognisance of the politically relevant characteristics of the South African society. These are the plural composition of the population, the differences in levels of political, economic and social development and comparatively strong remnants of traditionalism which dominate Third World societies.

In the same way that all Western democratic states developed different political systems according to their own particular circumstances and requirements, these South African realities necessitated the employment of various political instruments in pursuance of the democratic ideal in our country over the past three decades. For instance, the United States of America chose a federal instead of a unitary system because the founding fathers acknowledged the existence of the various states, each treasuring its own identity and autonomy. Likewise a unitary "winner takes all" system denying South African realities is ruled out by the government as being completely inappropriate and unsuitable in our particular situation.

Notwithstanding the imperfections of some of the political instruments employed by the government over the years, there is no doubt that they have indeed served to broaden political participation by black communities.

At this stage it must be made quite clear that "majority rule" must not be equated to democracy under all circumstances.

In a society characterised by deep cleavages, which only the centuries can eradicate, majority rule of "the

winner takes all" type would undoubtedly lead to indefinite rule by the strongest group over the others. Minority groups would have no opportunity ever to become the majority. They would be permanently relegated to a position of subordination. For them there can therefore be no democracy – only domination by others.

This fact lies, for instance, at the root of the constitutional problems experienced in Northern Ireland, where the cleavage is of a non-racial and non-ethnic nature. The South African Government and most of our citizens contend that the same holds true, to a much more significant extent, for this country.

If this fundamental aspect is understood and appreciated, it will also be clear that our rejection of, for example, a Westminster-type system in which the winner takes all, does not imply a rejection of the democratic principle and ideal. But to realize this ideal we have to devise constitutional arrangements other than those now prevalent in homogeneous or relatively homogeneous Western societies.

Not only do states democratise according to their own particular circumstances, but the timespan involved also corresponds to the requirements and realities of their situation. Those who criticise us for allegedly not moving fast enough, should therefore remember that democracy in its modern occidental form is a fairly recent phenomenon. For instance, Westminster-style democracy in the United Kingdom evolved over a number of centuries, while women were enfranchised only during the late Twenties in most Western democracies and as late as 1971 in Switzerland.

Other impediments to the process of democracy which should not be forgotten, especially with regard to present circumstances in South Africa, include opposition from those not in favour of democratic power-sharing (possibly because of Marxist convictions) and the limitations placed upon constitutional development by the economy.

It may be useful at this stage to recall a few facts about the population in Africa south of the Limpopo River. There are no less than eleven ethno-linguistic minorities six of which have between only one million and six million members, while five are even smaller with less than one million members each. Blacks form the greater proportion of this matrix, but are themselves divided into at least eight different groups having very little in common except that they are South African, black and have increasingly moved out of traditional subsistence farming.

Cleavages dividing these groups are accentuated by differences in political, economic and social development and by a long and arduous history of conflict.

This is the society for which the government has to devise a constitution, the society in which we wish democracy to thrive.

Democracy being our objective, although adapted to meet the requirements presented by the group character of South African society, it can rightly be asked what we have achieved so far?

A look at these achievements will also help to dispel a widely held fallacy. This is that the South African Government is not committed to democracy, wants to maintain "white supremacy" at all cost and that all steps taken are cosmetic and essentially aimed at strengthening the position of the whites.

At local government level the policy is for active participation by all communities. Local communities should, as far as possible and within the limits of financial viability, have their own local authorities. The various communities must also co-operate on matters of common concern, a process for which the necessary structures are to be provided.

In furthering this policy, important steps involving all population groups have already been taken.

☐ A statutory Co-ordinating Council at national level, in which all population groups and parties involved in local government affairs are represented, has been established to advise the central government on future developments regarding local government.

☐ Uniform municipal franchise qualifications for all have been laid down as a result of recommendations by the Co-ordinating Council.

☐ Criteria for the viability of local authorities have been promulgated.

☐ A statutory Delimitation Board has been established to determine the areas of jurisdiction of local authorities, in accordance with certain objective criteria. All population groups are represented on this board.

☐ Regulations aimed at improving communications between all local communities of different population groups have been promulgated.

☐ Inquiries into maximising the devolution of powers to local authorities and minimising central or provincial control over them, are now being conducted.

☐ The Regional Services Councils Act, providing for multiracial regional councils in which all communities in a particular area will co-operate on matters of common concern, especially with a view to the joint and cost effective provision of services and the priority

development of black, coloured and Indian communities, is being implemented.

This Act extends democracy on local government level to all groups. Furthermore, by giving first priority to the development of areas with the greatest need, the regional services councils will alleviate the present lack of funds and expertise, especially for black local authorities. This should help to stabilise these communities and to open up new horizons for them.

The government is convinced that these steps, together with others still to be taken, place democratic local government on a sound footing to the benefit of all population groups.

In May 1985 it was announced that a new provincial system dealing with matters affecting all population groups would be implemented by June 1986.

The present provincial legislative councils elected by whites will be replaced by provincial executive authorities representing all population groups. Public accountability by these executive authorities is a matter still under consideration.

Participation in decision-making on provincial level will thus be extended to all South Africans.

This process of regionalisation will also encompass the self-governing regions such as KwaZulu and Lebowa, which will be granted even greater freedom from central control.

These regions provide self-government for about ten million black people. With legislative and executive institutions based on Western as well as traditional models and values, they represent integral elements of a composite state.

In terms of the Constitution of 1983 coloureds and Indians have for the first time been able to take central legislative and executive responsibility, the first step in the creation of a new national political order.

The recognition of urban black communities as political entities which should decide on their own affairs, as well as being involved in national affairs, presents yet another element of a future arrangement providing for joint decision-making by all.

The joint development with the four independent national states of a multilateral co-operative dispensation with the specific aim of enabling all participants to join in decision-making affecting their common interests, may form a further element in a future constitutional framework.

As various announcements by the State President reflect, the government has, in the course of the last year, formulated its framework for a future democratic dispensation in South Africa:

☐ We accept an undivided South Africa, where all regions and groups within our present boundaries form part of the South African body politic and no region or group will be excluded from participation at central government level. No self-governing region will be excised from South Africa against its will and its people will participate in central decision-making, but they will retain the right to secede if they wish.

☐ We accept one citizenship for all South Africans, implying equal treatment and opportunities. In carrying out this principle, it was announced during the course of this year that the South African citizenship of those black residents of South Africa who lost it as a result of the independence of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei will be restored. Naturally all other blacks remain South African citizens.

☐ We believe in universal franchise, meaning that no South African citizen will be excluded from all political rights. The necessity to accommodate South African realities nevertheless requires the development of systems and structures which will prevent the domination of groups and ensure the protection of minority interests.

☐ We accept power-sharing among all population groups as a necessary ingredient of democracy in a plural society. All groups will therefore have to be accommodated on an equal basis.

☐ We believe in the sovereignty of the law as the basis for the protection of group interests as well as those of the individual. Any future dispensation must conform with the requirements of a civilised legal order.

☐ We reject any form of discrimination, be it on the grounds of race, culture, religion or sex. Human dignity must be advanced and any affront to it eliminated.

Any future democratic arrangement based on these fundamentals, must be acceptable to the various South African communities. The government therefore does not wish to implement such a dispensation unilaterally. It is committed to involve all leaders who reject violence in negotiations aimed at attaining these objectives.

In this regard one should remain aware of the importance of the human factor in the constitutional process. After all, the process is conducted by people, is aimed at people and depends for its success on people. Attention to structures and institutions alone, would therefore be a fatal mistake.

Our people are South Africa's single largest asset and success ultimately depends on our ability to foster a

collective spirit of goodwill without which a peaceful solution is impossible. It is our responsibility to lead our people in overcoming mistrust, selfishness and greed, in learning and practising understanding and compassion, and in displaying vision and hope.

While each one of us should re-examine our behaviour and actions in this respect, the government also undertakes to remove any impediments on the road to greater understanding and communication.

Our objectives are sound, morally justifiable and based on universally acceptable values.

I urge that the bona fides of the South African government in this regard be accepted. The genuine commitment to the protection of full democratic participation for all on all levels of decision-making should be measured against the concrete steps that have already been taken. These steps represent, without any doubt, real movement away from the present system of partial democracy towards a system where all communities will share power. This, I believe, is the only way true freedom for all is possible in South Africa.

RESTRICTIONS ON ENTIRE UDF EXECUTIVE IN WESTERN CAPE

45 Freed

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 3 Jan 86 p 4

[Text]

ALL 45 emergency and security legislation detainees released from Victor Verster and Pollsmoor prisons on Monday — including virtually the entire Western Cape executive of the United Democratic Front — have been placed under wide-ranging restriction orders.

The orders vary, but many people are now confined to their magisterial districts and prevented from contributing to publications, participating in UDF activities, attending educational institutions and criticising the Government "in any way".

Some of those released are journalists, teachers, academics, students and pupils, who will now be prevented from practising their professions or attending school or university unless they obtain special exemption.

The restrictions will remain in force until the

lifting of the state of emergency.

The following were reportedly released: Mr Zoli Malindi, Mr Christmas Tinto, Mr Wilfred Rhodes, Mr Goolam Abubaker, Mr Ebrahim Rasool — all UDF executive members — Mr Saleem Badat, editor of the community newspaper, Grassroots; Mr Rashied Seria, Grassroots media worker; The Rev H S Marawu, a General Workers Union executive member; Miss Dorothy Zihlangu, United Women's Organisation president; Miss Lyn Garwen, Mr Dan Louw, both teachers; Mr Michael Deeb, Mr Edwin Arrison, Miss Virginia Zweigenthal, all Ecumenical Action Movement members; Mr Llewellyn McMaster, Mr Greg McMaster, both students at the University of the Western Cape; Miss Mildred Lesia, Miss Jean Pease, Mr Manual Constable, Mr Neville Naidoo, Mr Derek Naidoo, Mr Ed-

gar Pieterse, Mr Jack Jagers, Mr David April, Mr Marcus Solomons, Mr Yaggia Savahl, Mr Leslie Maasdorp, Mr Leslie Andrews, Mr Mathew Andrews, Mr Selwyn Daniels, Mr David Abrahams, Mr Keith Samuels, Mr Marius Arries, Miss Celia McCrae, Mr Abie Fortuin, Mr Moses Arendse, Mr Logan Wort, Mr Johnny Bosch, Mr Rosemerry Sonto, Mr Benjamin Schereke, Mr Cecil Esau, Mr Francois Abrahams, Mr Edwin Wilson, Mr Michael Lindsay Benjamin and Mr Kevin Petel.

Mrs Avril Seria, wife of Mr Rashied Seria, media worker on Grassroots community newspaper, said the restriction order would prevent him and Mr Badat, the editor, from working.

Jobs

"The Security Police said they would have to apply to the Commissioner of Police for per-

mission to do their jobs.

"They are not sure they are prepared to do this," she said.

Mr Seria was detained, with most of the others, on October 25. Mrs Seria said "that they have been released now has no significance."

"They are still restricted and have been deprived of many freedoms.

"One can only speculate that the authorities thought that by releasing them, the country would have a quiet New Year.

"I am just very glad to see my husband free."

She telephoned the police daily since Mr Seria was detained on October 25, she said.

They told her he would be restricted.

"They told me the wives of the men should control their husbands more."

Friends of Mr David April, a Bishop Lavis teacher, said the restriction orders "will make it impossible for pupils to go to school." — Sapa

Affected Organizations

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 3 Jan 86 p 4

[Text]

ORGANISATIONS
AFFECTED ARE: Adelaide Youth Congress, Alexandria School Committee, Alexandria Students Council, Alexandria Youth Congress, Alicedale Civic Association, Alicedale Women's Organisation, Alicedale Youth Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, Azanian Students Movement, Azanian Students Organisation, Black Students Movement, Women's Group Crisis Committee, Bongeletu Youth Organisation, Cradock Residents Association, Cradock Students Council, Cradock Women's Organisation, Cradock Youth Association, Detainees Parents Support Committee, Fort Beaufort Organ of Peace, Fort Beaufort Youth Congress, Graaff Reinet Community Organisation, Graaff Reinet Youth Congress, Grahamstown Burial Action Committee, Grahamstown Civic Association, Grahamstown Committee of Democrats, Grahamstown School Committee, Grahamstown Students Council, Grahamstown Women's Organisation, Grahamstown Youth Congress, Jansenville Students Committee, Jansenville Youth Congress, Karoo Youth Congress, Katlehong Action Committee, Klipplaat Youth Congress, Maokeng Students Organisation, Maokeng Youth Congress, Maokeng Youth Movement, Middelburg Residents Association, Middelburg Youth Congress, Parys African Students Organisation, Parys Civic Association, Pearston Youth Congress, Port Alfred Black Civic Association, Port Alfred Black Civic Organisation, Port Alfred School Committee, Port Alfred Students Council, Port Alfred Youth Congress, Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation, Port Elizabeth School Committee, Port Elizabeth Students Committee, Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress, Pro-Humanism Organisation, Release Mandela Committee, Save the Starving Community, Somerset East Residents Association, Somerset East Youth Congress, Tembisa Civic Association, Thabong Civic Association, Thabong Youth Congress, Tumahole Civic Association, Tumahole Students Organisation, Tumahole Youth Congress, Uitenhage Black Civic Organisation, Uitenhage Health, Safety and Cultural Association, Uitenhage Parents Committee, Uitenhage Students Committees, Uitenhage Women's Organisation, Uitenhage Youth Congress, United Democratic Front, Zankhanyo Civic Committee, and Zankhanyo Youth Organisation.

The thirty magisterial districts are Adelaide, Albany, Alberton, Alexandria, Bathurst, Beaufort West, Bedford, Walkerville, Cradock, Fort Beaufort, Graaff Reinet, Hanky, Hanover, Hofmyer, Humansdorp, Jansenville, Kempton Park, Kirkwood, Kroonstad, Middelburg (Cape), Odenburg, Oudshoring, Parys, Pearston, Port Elizabeth, Sasolburg, Somerset East, Uitenhage, Virginia, and Welkom.

/9274

CSO: 3400/871

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES PROJECTS IN 29 BLACK AREAS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 11 Jan 86 p 8

[Text]

THE Department of Constitutional Development and Planning yesterday announced projects worth nearly R8-million in 29 Black areas under the jurisdiction of the Oranje Vaal Development Board.

The projects will provide for improved streets, housing and infrastructure as well as jobs for 6 785 people in the 29 areas administered by 23 community councils and two town councils.

At the official cheque handing over ceremony in Sebokeng yesterday, the Regional Representative (OFS) of the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Hennie Kriel, said the funds handed over to the community leaders "showed we are not just windowdressing but these councils make their own decisions".

Mr Kriel said the requests for the projects from the community and town councils had been approved by the Government after much effort by the Black leaders and could be presented to communities as a concrete achievement to counter the vague promises of organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF).

He asked that the funds set aside for housing be used as widely as possible and to help the maximum number of people.

A total of R586 000, which will provide jobs for 408 people, was handed over to the community councils for the restoration of streets, while a total of R5 602 720 was earmarked for housing projects. This will provide jobs for an additional 5 429 people.

A total of R470 880 of the R6 659 680 for community councils is to be spent on infrastructure in the 23 areas, providing employment for 328 people.

The Town council of Evaton is to receive R230 400 for infrastructure and the restoration of streets, and will provide jobs for 160 people.

This amount is in addition to the R153 400 received by Evaton last year for cleaning the town and for housing — projects presently well under way and providing employment for 145 people.

A quarter of the R230 400 budgeted for in the latest plan — R57 600 was handed over to the Mayor of Evaton, Mr S R. Rabotapi, yesterday. The

balance will be given in the near future.

The Lekoa Town Council, which controls Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Boipatong, Bophalong and Zamdela, is to receive R430 080 in terms of the latest plan, which brings to R2 045 360 the total amount given since last year for cleaning, upgrading hostels, special housing, infrastructure and the restoration of streets.

The Mayor of Lekoa, Mr Easu Chake Mahlatsi, received R107 520 yesterday, with the balance to be given shortly.

The development plan for Lekoa has already provided 755 jobs and will provide another 460 with the plan announced yesterday.

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CSO: 3400/874

BLACK CONSUMER BODY SUPPORTS FUEL PETITION

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Jan 86 p 5

[Article by Jackie Unwin]

[Excerpt]

The Black Consumer Association has given its support to the "Jack and Jill" move to petition the Government to drop the petrol price increase.

The petition project is snowballing with more than 400 telephone callers offering to help since *The Star* published the story of the launch on Tuesday.

The executive director of the association, Mr Eldridge Mathabula, said: "Most of the black consumers do not have cars as they are a luxury, but when petrol rises it affects bread, milk, and margarine which the poor consumers are highly dependent on."

"We feel very strongly about this and must take some action."

The petition was started by a Benoni pensioner, Mr Jack Huber, and a 24-year-old Park-

hurst housewife, Mrs Jill Purkiss, who decided to take a stand when the inland motorist was hit by the latest petrol price increase.

"We have had numerous calls from furious consumers all over the country, not only the inland areas, so we have decided to change the wording of the petition to include consumers in the whole of South Africa and not just the inland areas," said Mrs Purkiss.

New wording

The petition now reads: "We, the undersigned, object in the strongest terms possible to continual increases in the fuel price. The Government should help to combat inflation by using the massive profits of the oil pipelines to reduce the cost of petrol."

/9274

CSO: 3400/874

FEAR EXPRESSED AS BLACK SCHOOLS OPEN

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 11 Jan 86 p 10

[Article by Susan Fleming]

[Text]

Black schools opened on a shaky note this week amid fears that 1986 could prove another year of confrontation between the authorities and pupils.

Over the past 18 months schools have been hard hit by boycotts and unrest, but a decision taken at the historic National Education Conference held at Wits last week that pupils return to school on January 28, provided a glimmer of hope for the otherwise bleak future of black education.

The Department of Education and Training's insistence this week that pupils return to school on January 8 and not on January 28 could have serious repercussions.

The Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee, acting under the directive of a Wits conference committee, requested the Deputy Minister of Education and Development Aid, Mr Sam de Beer, to delay the opening of school until January 28.

The SPCC asked for the delay to enable the department to repair school buildings damaged last year and to give parents, pupils and teachers — of whom many have not taught on a regular basis for some time — to prepare for the new term.

The Deputy Minister rejected this request and instead opened the school doors on Wednesday — the DET's planned opening date. However, the department did give one concession — pupils not able to start school on Wednesday would be allowed to register on January 28.

Mr de Beer argued that it was of "vital importance" that the available school time in 1986 was used to the pupils' best advantage.

"No education department in this country can afford to lose any of the minimum of 198 days available to it to cover the syllabuses and maintain the required standards. In particular the DET must in the interests of its students ensure the maintenance of the same educational standards as those applying in other education departments," he said.

A large number of black pupils heeded the SPCC's call to delay the school opening and most secondary schools in Mamelodi, Soweto and the Eastern Cape were deserted on Wednesday.

In Soweto about 10 percent of the pupils resumed classes on Wednesday, but this figure grew slightly on Thursday.

The general trend in many areas, including Mamelodi and the East Rand townships, was to register on Wednesday but to stay away until January 28 — the date set by parents, pupils and teachers at the Wits conference.

The Azanian Students' Organisation (Azaso) has stuck to the Wits conference resolution, saying it will defy the Deputy Minister's call to return to school.

The Deputy Minister's decision has caused deep dissatisfaction among many community leaders, educationists and black organisations.

The SPOC expressed deep disappointment at DET's January 8 opening date and reiterated its position that black pupils should not return to school or even register before January 28.

The president of the Soweto Civic Association, Dr Nthato Motlana, said the Government should have been grateful for the constructive stand taken by parents and children on an issue which was very difficult.

"We had hoped that the department would match this and respond reasonably."

He called on the Government to release detained children and teachers.

"If that does not happen and the whole system collapses in three months' time then we will know where the blame truly lies, this time," he said.

The main question being asked is if the pupils do resume school on January 28, will the Government be able to keep them in class?

A number of conditions were set by the Wits conference. The Government was given until March to respond or face "appropriate action". Azaso has threatened "tough action" if its demands are not met.

The demands included:

- The reinstatement of dismissed teachers and those who had been forcibly transferred.
- Withdrawal of the SADF from the townships.
- Recognition of students' representative councils and the unbanning of the Congress of South African Students.
- The release of all detained students, pupils, parents and teachers.
- The lifting of the state of emergency.

Mr de Beer said these demands would be discussed in due course. He would not comment further.

The ball is now in the Government's court and it is up to the authorities to effect progress in black education.

If the Government does not act appropriately then black education will once again be at risk and South Africans can expect 1986 to be a turbulent year.

/9274

CSO: 3400/874

FORMER PRISONER OUTLINES STEPS FOR MORE JUST SOCIETY

Cape Town LEADERSHIP SA in English [Special International Edition] Jan 86 pp 92, 96, 99

[Article by Joe Seremane]

[Text] I am a political animal, a religious animal and, above all, a product of my personal experience, of my environment and of socio-economic influences. These factors do, I believe, determine one's behaviour, fears and aspirations.

The adage goes: "Give a dog a bad name and hang him". The Setswana equivalent would be "Leina lebe seromo", which translates literally into: "A (bad) name is an assignment or pre-destiny". To have two names with a mystical connection to each other is tantamount to having a double assignment, if not a heavy burden thrust on one's shoulders.

I was born of simple, not very well-educated, working-class parents: a meticulously efficient domestic worker lady wedded to a goldmine clerk of English colonial-missionary cultivation who, towards the close of his life, turned into a proficient small trader. Both parents were devout Christians in their own right. May their souls rest in peace. I was christened Joseph, though two other names found their way into the baptismal certificate. Such traditional African names were "pagan, heathen", according to the arrogant Anglican-missionary standards of that time. The third African name, Sebothe, was just one pagan name too many for the priest to risk inserting in the holy script!

Of course the baptismal ritual could not deter the traditional family mode of recording history by naming siblings as a projection of aspirations or in line with the undying tenets of tradition? Wetsho-otsile and Kubu triumphed over the "holy barriers" but Sebothe did not go beyond the shores of the Tswana "lelapa"! The name transcended tribal barriers though. Given by a Xhosa-speaking member of the extended family relations, it originated as "Zibuthe"--collect them (cattlewealth)--and adapted, refusing to die, to the Tswana kraal as Kebothe meaning, "a small, rather noisy and kindhearted, though mischevious at times, songbird". Kubu, or hippopotamas, was blessed too.

Wetsho-otsile means "our countryman has arrived". "Our countryman" and its other connotation "the dreamer", I was to realise later, influenced my life to a great extent. The family's dreamer had indeed arrived! For the family, the

boy-child's dreams were taken seriously, resulting in countless family consultations to gauge family affairs. Afro-Christianity in its sincerity, and unpretentiousness? Now I have dreams of my own for our beloved country, South Africa.

The pain suffered in our country by so many--the oppressed and also the oppressors--saddens, yet ironically, fires a deep longing in me. This longing is like nagging nostalgia, a burning desire for a "healed" country. The sad plight we find ourselves in generates a persistent vision in my mind. A vision for a different and a better country without all the injustice, suffering, prejudice and racism with its evil sister-witch, tribalism, prevalent in our midst today.

This vision is reinforced time and time again in the face of insidious despair, frustration, bitterness, and even hatred, by the wonderful men and women of goodwill in the burning country that is South Africa today. These men and women also have a passion for a free, happy, peaceful and prosperous South Africa. This does not, of course, wish away the realities of this country: that this very passion can release unbridled anger. The other truth, a sad one, is that the ruling class of this our country has a false dream about the status quo--as a paradise never to be surrendered "this side of eternity". This is a distorted and deceptive perception of truths of history. Can it be everlasting paradise when the majority of the population are dissatisfied and oppressed? You have to be in the mud to keep me in the mud!

Is the oppressor not in pain when he has lost that fine quality innate in man that my people call "botho" or "ubuntu"? The nearest English equivalent I can think of is "humanness", if I were to permit myself poetic licence. This pain, lack of "botho-ubuntu"--I have seen several times nakedly written on the faces of those entrusted with the duty of maintaining and perpetuating the status quo. The prison warders, the police, the interrogators and, recently the soldiers in the besieged black townships, all have that pain written on their faces. Blank and cold faces lacking human warmth. Eyes staring blankly ahead forever in search of "the enemy" known only to themselves and their superiors. That, to me, is pain. That is the pain of South Africa that cries loudly for healing.

Remedies for the pain have come up by the hundreds and in an assortment of forms. The "false paradise" has its own village-brew potion acceptable to none save those who reside in this ivory tower and false paradise. Will the 'New South Africa' or 'Azania' be born by caesarean surgery or normal birth with the country's people mutually all playing the midwife's role?

I yearn for a South Africa that is colour blind towards people: where countryman is countryman no more no less in terms of hue. A country that is colour conscious only in so far as appreciating the therapeutic splendour of colour in the flora and fauna of this wonderful gift that is our country. Far-fetched and naive? Have you seen "nannie's" child playing with "madam's/missie's" little child? Innocent souls still untainted and uncontaminated by political and "patriotic" ideologies of the day!

I dream of a South Africa that will equitably distribute the land, wealth and resources of the country among its citizens. A country that makes it its sacred norm and duty to give all its citizens equal opportunities to equip themselves with the necessary skills, training and education in order to be in a position of not only enjoying the benefits of the country's economy but also to be in a position of coping with the technological present and the future ahead.

The "New South Africa" I visualise is that of a society holding hands together, transcending racial, ethnic and tribal barriers. A society responsive to cultural cross-fertilisation which will minimize tensions in human relations. A society that unselfishly acknowledges the vastness and abundance of the country's wealth and utilizes it with a divine sense of good stewardship, or in the manner of custodians of the country's gifts for subsequent generations. A society that will never forget to live and let live.

I visualise a new nation of South Africans or Azanians or whatever all of us, mutually, might agree to call ourselves. A "new people" that accepts one another as belonging to a common country yet also being in accord with humanity in the community of free nations of the world thereby ridding ourselves of the polecat or "rotten potato" stigma.

The Homeland policy must be scrapped by phasing their structures out or integrating them into existing provincial administrations. The "New South Africa" should live up to the "Unity is Strength" dictum. Further fragmentation of the country should cease if we are to realise this integral "New South Africa" dream. The 1910 Union may be wrong but it pointed a way towards the vision of unity when no unity existed between provinces. This vision should now be carried further to be modified, perfected, and humanised.

Land must be frugally utilised. A practical and feasible balance between the concepts of communal/collective and private land ownership will be struck and implemented for the common good of all the citizens of the New South Africa. Prosperity will not be a monopoly of a few of the ruling elite. Uncontrolled land and housing profiteering shall be discouraged. Land and nature preservation programmes shall be regarded as the lifeblood of the country and an obligation of the state, local and provincial authorities.

I visualise a New South Africa where all adult South Africans shall have a say in the decision making processes of the country, with a common parliament for a common nation in a common country. The common parliament of this New South Africa shall ensure that a Bill of Human Rights is enshrined in the country's constitution. Every democratically elected government of the day in New South Africa should see to the upholding and enforcement of these Human Rights. The foregoing will obviate the need for a "guarantee of minority rights"--a contradiction in terms in a non-racial, truly democratic and Human Rights-conscious country! The racist inspired phobia of "minorities" being swamped by the majority has no room nor justification in a non-racial society.

The New South Africa of my vision must have legislative institutions that have an unwavering respect for the judiciary. We have our "Wise King Solomons" right now at this turbulent period of our history in such organisations as the

Human Rights Lawyers Association; others are either languishing in prison or in exile and yet many others are unable to practice because of the present laws of the country. If apartheid gave all these people a chance to contribute their wisdom for the benefit of the country, there would be no brain drain.

In my vision for a New South Africa no duplicity shall be allowed in the sphere of education. A common educational system for all under a common authority or department of education must be the rule.

It is imperative that this department must be in line with the country's common parliament to allow for the full participation of all educationalists. Free, or relatively free, compulsory education for all shall be given priority. Political party or State propaganda must be kept out of the classroom. Remuneration of teachers and educationalists should be according to qualifications and merit.

Education programmes shall be geared towards nurturing graduates with open and critical intellectual dispositions yet able to synchronise with New South Africa's vision. Provision shall be made for students free and democratic participation in students' affairs, together with academic freedom in learning institutions. Adult education and self-advancement shall be encouraged in my vision for a New South Africa.

New South Africa shall have a high level of health and social welfare consciousness. Medical research shall take precedence over military armaments stock piling. The country's emphasis shall be on preventative medicine without overlooking curative medicine. Medical services shall be made relatively free and within easy affordable reach to all citizens. The country's young population and senior citizens shall warrant state support and ongoing assistance.

The Children's Act and Rights shall be taken seriously by the New South Africa. High standards of ethics and practice in both health and social sectors must be upheld. Housing shall be made adequate and available. There shall be no discrimination in the allocation of housing and residential areas. The only criteria to be applied here shall be the individuals' choice and means. Careful consideration shall be paid to agricultural land, so that it is not despoiled, yielding food for the citizens when residential areas are established.

Freedom of worship shall be respected with the proviso that religious sects and entities are part and parcel of the New South African society. The state shall respect the autonomy of the religious bodies and their traditional or historical bonds and fellowship with the wider world religious family. The state shall, however, have to adopt an attitude of "positive non-alignment" in matters of religion, without being indifferent to the positive contribution religious groups can make to the spiritual and moral welfare of the citizens in keeping with the ideals of a just and democratic society.

In the South African envisaged, labour, industry, commerce and agriculture, including other professions and vocations, shall be regarded as vital components of the economy of the new society. Trade unionism shall be seen as a right of all engaged in producing the country's wealth and prosperity. Carefully

considered aspects of labour practices drawn from the world's labour markets and world economies shall be adapted to suit the country's economic situation. Democracy, justice, and mutual cooperation shall be the guiding beacons in this sphere.

The New South Africa shall energetically strive to reorientate its police force by removing its "enemy-of-the-public and big bully" image. The police force functions shall therefore be confined to crime prevention, crime detection, law enforcement and the maintenance of peace. A strict code of discipline and adherence to laws, rules and regulations shall be the norm. The citizens shall also be encouraged to respect the police force and to see it in a positive light as a part of the society.

The penal system shall undergo rigorous reform. New South Africa's prison department shall be oriented towards people-rehabilitation without the image of torture chambers or sweatshops. The prison personnel shall be trained in the fields of practical law, sociology and criminology, as well as other relevant necessary disciplines. Prison warders and personnel shall be motivated to advance their learning to render beneficial services to the new society.

The Defence Force in the New South Africa shall be seen to be for defence and not offensive aggression. In the New South Africa the defence force shall largely be a permanent, voluntary soldiery, supplemented periodically by an intake from voluntary citizen forces. Training programmes shall be of such a nature that they do not "dehumanise" the enlisted forces, and, furthermore, "rookies" and veterans leaving the force shall be reintegrated into society. The Defence Budget in the New South Africa shall be tightly controlled and trimmed to provide bare self-defence military equipment to curb undue armament-stockpiling and engaging in the arms race. Provocative and pre-emptive strike operations into sovereign states shall be discouraged. The defence force shall be separated from the police force and no off-duty soldier shall be allowed to bear high-calibre weapons.

To realise my vision for South Africa we need to look at the prevailing state of affairs in the country. A country that is at war with itself! The picture we see is that of a country heading to blow itself to pieces. Escalating unrest and violence are the order of the day. There is continual mounting condemnation and pressure--actual and threatened--from the international community. The country's economy is on the decline. We run the risk of an unprecedented catastrophe in the country. The future is becoming dimmer. Something has to be done urgently to sop this pain, this senseless self-destruction by a country.

Together we need to put our shoulders to the wheel and come to grips with the gigantic task of remedying the situation. We have to move boldly and stop playing hide-and-seek along the banks of the "Rubicon" or "in the bush". We must, of necessity and great urgency, do what we might regard as undesirable or unpleasant to rectify issues. We must:

--Release all political prisoners urgently and unconditionally;

--Allow exiles back into the country, especially those willing to lay down arms or observe some kind of ceasefire;

- Withdraw the defence force from the townships;
- Release all persons held or detained under the State of Emergency Regulations or Internal Security Act;
- Suspend all political trials and death executions for political "offenders";
- Lift the bans on all political organisations, student organisations such as Cosas, and all restricted banned persons;
- Negotiate and consult with all authentic leaders and organisations and plan for a National Convention to chart out new ways and means of normalising the present crisis situation and also to forge a blue-print for the road ahead;
- Work diligently towards holding an open, fair, free and democratic General Election wherein all adult citizens will participate;
- Begin changing the attitudes of the citizens to adjust towards a non-racial, just and democratic society through use of the media--radio, television and press;
- Last, but not least, every single one of us in the country--should in the interim be praying and singing: "Nkosi sikelela...Morena boloka sechaba... God bless Africa..." to usher in a new era, a new tomorrow, a New South Africa!

CSO: 3400/906

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON IMPORTANT YEAR AHEAD FOR BOTHA

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Jan 86 p 10

[Article by David Braun]

[Text]

On Sunday President Botha turns 70 — the first of a series of significant anniversaries for him in 1986.

Later in the year there will be the 50th anniversary of his entry to political life (he was appointed as an organiser for the National Party in the Caledon district on May 1 1936), and, by the time this year's annual congress season comes round, usually in September, he will have served 20 terms as his party's Cape leader.

These events, persistent rumours of his failing health (always strongly denied by those close to him) and his known wish to spend his twilight years with his grandchildren tempt many a commentator to speculate that this will be Mr Botha's last year in high office.

There is, of course, nothing unusual about having a septuagenarian at the helm of a nation's affairs. Ronald Reagan is well into his 70s, and most of Russia's recent leaders were of similar age.

But the South African President is said to be keen to step down if he can be sure that he leaves the country and his successor a heritage of peace and stability, and that the bold new direction that he has taken his party along can be seen to be the correct one.

Challenges

At 70 he realises that the remaining challenges are numerous

and the years, if not months, left to him are precious few.

Mr Botha is a man with a sense of history and destiny and if he is unable to show progress towards his goals in 1986, he may feel obliged to stay on indefinitely.

In that case, like any politician with a fixed term of office, Mr Botha runs the risk of having to go at a time not of his choosing.

If he does decide to retire this year, the most likely date of his announcement is just before this year's National Party provincial congresses, so that he can say goodbye.

By then the parliamentary session will be behind him and there will have been a chance to make some progress on the economic and political fronts.

Mr Botha would like to see the economy in a phase of recovery, with people back at work and international investors finding confidence. He would like to see his political reforms bearing fruit, and the long-awaited negotiations on black political participation under way.

All this will add urgency to his speech at the opening of Parliament on January 31, when he may be expected to outline his agenda for the year.

That political stability and economic prosperity are interdependent is axiomatic, so Mr Botha will strive to create the right climate for both.

A development in this regard would be an announcement that the Government has firmly decided to abolish influx control and the pass laws immediately, and that the positive and orderly urbanisation it seeks in their place includes the elimination of bureaucratic obstructions in township and housing development.

Excellent political concessions, which if sold in the correct spirit of generosity and good faith will have a major psychological impact at home and abroad, would be the unconditional release of all long-term security prisoners and the unbanning and release from detention of political opponents.

The unbanning of the ANC could be coupled with an invitation to start talks immediately with the leaders of all the sections of the population.

Mr Botha could perhaps try to secure the public support of the West for such announcements as sufficient basis for talks.

Organisations and individuals continuing to support or perpetrate

violence under these circumstances would have to be isolated and excluded from the negotiations.

What is needed, in short, is a dramatic gesture on the part of a statesman president, to make this last, crucial period the crowning point of a thus-far successful career.

Failure to make such a gesture may have sad consequences for the country and the man.

It is said that every career in politics ends in sadness or tragedy.

In their book on President Botha, "PW", Dirk and Johanna de Villiers said that the leaders of South Africa have almost all died in tears —

"Paul Kruger banished in exile, Louis Botha on a downhill Jan Smuts rejected, Hertzog lonely, Malan in isolation, Strijdom unfulfilled and sickly, Verwoerd in blood and Vorster in unhappiness".

Will P W Botha grasp his remaining opportunities to reverse the trend as he enters his eighth decade?

/9274

CSO: 3400/869

INTERNATIONAL MEDIA INTEREST IN NATION WANES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 15 Jan 86 p 11

[Text] United States: The consensus among network and print sources questioned in New York is that the restrictions affect TV more than print media, but that the story is still seen as significant and is well covered.

All the sources said they were stressing South African coverage as much as before the restrictions were imposed. But they differed on whether the public's interest was waning.

Network sources said they preferred to avoid file footage.

CBS foreign news and operations vice president Mr David Buksbaum said if they could not show the story, they could still tell it. "We just have a correspondent stand up against a tree and tell it," he said, adding that he felt interest was still strong.

At NBC, foreign news general manager Mr Jerry Lamprecht said they tried to prepare more news features and background pieces, so that they could not get footage of daily violence, the presenter could report the latest unrest and "that hard lead is used to get into the background piece".

He also said that despite restrictions, United States TV can do more reporting in South Africa than in many other places in Africa and the Middle East.

At the 24-hour news station, Cable News Network (CNN), executive vice-president Mr Ted Turner said CNN got much of its film from Washington and tried to flesh out the story with comments from diplomats, expert observers and others. He though public interest in South Africa had slumped.

He said: "The ban has had an effect to the benefit of the South African government. It is clear the ban has worked."

NEW YORK TIMES deputy foreign editor Mr John Darnton said: "You see fewer dramatic pictures in the paper but when one is used, it is striking."

But he said pictures did not determine how a story was played and he believed the public was still interested.

Britain: Journalists said the clampdown had led to the South Africa story moving off front pages.

"The temptation in the Press, is and always has been, that if you don't have the pictures, you downgrade the story," the BBC's news editor, Mr Alan Protheroe, said.

He said restrictions on broadcast news have made it harder to fully cover events in South Africa. "In TV, our job is to take the picture, record the sound. We have to be out there. We have to show the violence. We have to be on the front line," he said.

THE GUARDIAN said its reporters were more deskbound now and coverage had become more passive, with more reliance on police and official sources.

"The South African government is winning," assistant foreign editor Mr Nicholas Dallman said. "The quality of coverage has gone down. By clamping down on the Press, it's made it hard to do any kind of good investigatory journalism."

Australia: THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD's foreign news editor, Mr Girish Kumar, said the restrictions meant its correspondent had an undue dependence on official versions and local newspaper reports of incidents.

"He has to depend on what the official version of it is and what the local papers would be reporting of the incident, so it's third hand rather than on-the-spot reporting," he said.

ABC acting news programme editor Mr Neil Ross said the impact of some South African stories made up for the lack of graphic footage.

"It is a hindrance but it's not making us reduce its prominence at the moment," Mr Ross said.

West Germany: Media in West Germany say they are continuing to give prominent treatment to South Africa.

ARD, one of the two main TV channels, said its coverage had decreased since the curbs, but the restrictions had not removed the disturbances from the public eye.

"Our reporting of South Africa has not suffered other than visually," ARD foreign news editor Mr Peter Sedat said.

ARD and rival channel, ZDF, said absence of film of disturbances from restricted areas meant relying more on written reports and film of events such as protest rallies elsewhere to reflect the climate of unrest.

ZDF TV news director Mr Karl-Heinz Bolle said: "We are trying to report what is happening as fully as we can. We have used every justified means to maintain coverage."

Newspapers say their coverage has not suffered from the curbs and that the availability of photographs to highlight a report is not a factor in determining its priority.

DIE WELT said they did not feel affected by the measures as "our reports are more of an analytical and background nature".

France: The French media devoted a great deal of space to South Africa until the curbs in November. Since then, TV coverage has been considerably reduced.

Antenne-2 foreign editor Mr Edouard Lor said: "We have sharply reduced our coverage since the restrictions. Now we get from local TV what is convenient for the (South African) Government, such as tribal feuds."

LE MONDE's deputy editor Mr Paul-Jean Franceschini said coverage had not been affected by the restrictions on TV networks.

He said: "We have neither reduced nor increased our stories on South Africa. But it is fair to admit that the overall cover of South Africa by the French media has been less dramatic and therefore less damaging to the Pretoria authorities."

Netherlands: Newsmen said the restrictions had reduced the impact of day-to-day coverage although TV and the Press were still reporting developments as fully as possible.

NRC HANDELSBLAD joint foreign editor Mr Nicolas Klein said: "One picture can often tell more than a whole page of print. But from South Africa, we cannot get everything we want."

Others agreed, but doubted whether the public's interest in South Africa was waning as a result. Historical, cultural and language links have led the Dutch to follow South African events closely.

Denmark: Danish TV current affairs head Mr Lasse Jensen said: "We have not quite felt the consequences yet of the South African decision. We still have a flow of pictures coming in from there."

While INFORMATION's co-foreign editor Mr Lars Moeller-Rasmussen said: "It has not had any effect at all. I think there has been a slight drop in South Africa coverage during the past month simply because the story goes on and on."

Sweden: Journalists said the restrictions had made a significant difference to their coverage of South Africa.

"Pictures are our basic working material so of course the ban has affected us," Rapport TV foreign editor Mr Olle Stenholm said.

While DAGENS NYHETER foreign editor Mr Bengt Albons said: "The story had already begun to move down page before the ban as we had become used to daily reports of the violence."--Reuter.

CSO: 3400/909

SOUTH AFRICA

MULHOLLAND DISCUSSES COUNTRY'S SHAKY EXISTENCE

Cape Town LEADERSHIP SA [Special International Edition] Jan 86 pp 32, 34 .

[Article by Stephen Mulholland]

[Text] Apartheid does not and never had as its object the enrichment of white men at the expense of black men. The architects of apartheid were not men interested in material progress. They were interested only in the preservation of Afrikaans culture, language, religion and the generally caucasoid nature of Afrikaners.

In fact they correctly perceived that free enterprise was a most dangerous and direct threat to apartheid. Like communism and fascism, apartheid is a system which places the interests of the state above those of the individual. In free societies individuals are encouraged to seek their own ends in the belief that society itself is the principal benefactor of personal success.

It is important to remember that apartheid, in its single, unswerving role as the means to defend Afrikaner ethnicity, was directed not only against die swart gavaar. After they assumed power in 1948 the Nationalists moved rapidly to stem the rising tide of immigration from war-torn Europe. Who can know what effects an inflow of hundreds of thousands, and probably millions, of Europeans would have had? Certainly the economic consequences would have been desirable. And surely the divisive harshness of Afrikanerdom would have been diffused.

Those of us old enough to remember know what happened as a result of the infamous policy of mother-tongue education. Friendships and contacts in the formative years between future leaders from English and Afrikaans-speaking homes were first destroyed and then denied to children attending, as I did, government schools.

Apartheid has not enriched South Africa. It has impoverished it. How is it possible to enrich a nation through a system which denies the bulk of its population the opportunity to exploit the reservoirs of talent and energy and initiative and ambition which each of us has, in varying degrees, within us?

Certainly white men have exploited the system of apartheid to enrich themselves personally. Throughout history men, seeking their own ends, have employed bad law as a means to exploit their fellow men. It is the duty of government in a free society to protect its citizens from both bad law and evil men; although

slave owners in the American south surely did not perceive themselves as evil they were clearly employing bad law as a means to exploit their fellow men.

It is equally certain, on the other hand, that without a system of apartheid, black South Africans would have developed and prospered far more rapidly. And if this is given then surely all South Africans, in particular, the perceived economic beneficiaries of apartheid, white South Africans, would have been better off?

Not only has the cost of the National Party's experiments in social engineering been directly horrendous. The indirect loss to the society of the rewards of ordinary human endeavour and progress that would have been attainable in a free system are beyond imagination.

The economic ignorance of South African cabinet ministers is awesome to behold. In other societies economic issues are a major electoral battleground. In the incestuous world of Afrikaans politics the lexicon of interest rates, deficits, surpluses, payments balances, inflation, real growth and exchange rates have no place.

Thus today, when we stare in its face the awful spectre of economic ruin our cabinet ministers rarely accept that their politics have had anything to do with it all. They are limited men, not equipped to run a modern, sophisticated society. They lack understanding of communication in a media age and how perceptions are formed and altered.

I doubt seriously if, when planning the State of Emergency, consideration of any sort was given to the economic consequences. For example my information, for what it's worth, is that the central bank, the custodian of the currency, was not even informed, never mind consulted, on that momentous decision.

I doubt if the State President and that sinister cabal which surrounds him gave a moment's thought to the economic consequences of his August 15 speech. One of those consequences, and it flowed directly from that August 15 debacle, was the calling up of our foreign debt.

Perhaps the mindlessness of it all is summed up in a remark (which I was told by someone who was there) made by a senior official at a meeting on the debt moratorium. Said this worthy: "Vok die Amerikaners."

Where do we go from here? That was the brief given me by a fondly trusting editor who asked me to look 10 years down the road. I must say it is far simpler to hammer those who got us into this mess than to try to imagine how we will get out of it, or, indeed, if we will.

On a recent visit abroad, driven to desperation by unceasing questions about this country, I found refuge in a cowardly technique which, I'm pleased to report, not only worked but raised a few laughs too. And what more than an amateur speaker ask?

The technique is simple. I would commence each address, or Q&A session, with the following comment: "The answer to every question about South Africa or any suggestion about what might happen there is yes."

Can there be a military coup? Yes.

Can there be a bloodbath? Yes.

Can there be a white right-wing takeover? Yes.

Can there be a black Marxist takeover? Yes.

Can there be peaceful evolution? Yes.

Can there be more of the same, repression and reform? Yes.

What about a federal system? Yes.

Can there be economic collapse? Yes.

What about Rhodesian style hothouse economic growth? Yes.

Do you want to emigrate? Yes.

Do you want to stay there? Yes.

The longer answer is that we have tumbled into a position where the future, never reliable anyway, is murky beyond the limits which ordinary people can tolerate psychologically and certainly beyond the limits which investors are prepared to accept.

Thus we see the long-term gilt market in this country drying up. Twenty-year Escom stock, you must be kidding. Everyone is going short and while long-term rates offer high real returns the demand for short-term instruments drives rates down at that end of the market.

We must, somehow, make it possible for our many and steadfast friends in the West (and their patience must surely be strained to outer limits) to be able to defend being seen in our company.

How can we achieve that?

In my view one way, and one way only: by putting together a moderate multi-racial majority to govern the country. The numbers are there. It needs inspired and visionary and intellectually powerful leadership to put it together.

Remember, a majority is a collection of other majorities. To bring six million Zulus to the table, Mangosuthu Buthelezi need win only a majority of Zulu voters. To bring five million whites to the table PW Botha needs the support of a similar proportion.

And so on with other groups such as the coloureds, Indians and the various homelands which, distasteful though they may be to some, are political and economic realities. To put together a coalition on a federal basis representing, say, 15 million people living in South Africa, is eminently achievable.

Thomas Sowell, the black American economist has written: "American pluralism was not an ideal with which the people started but an accommodation to which they were eventually driven by the destructive toll of mutual intolerance in a country too large and diverse for effective dominance by any one segment of the population."

There will be no appeasing the hard line Left or the hard line Right. They will just have to like it. And if they break the law they will be dealt with not by a narrow Afrikaans minority but by a moderate multiracial majority. That may not be acceptable at the United Nations but I suspect it would play quite well in Washington, London, Bonn, Tokyo and Ottawa. We omit Paris (devious and amoral) and Canberra (they're just bit players anyway).

Here we return to square one. In order to achieve a moderate, multiracial government Afrikaners must be prepared to sacrifice their hegemony. Afrikaans language, religion, culture and ethnicity will have to survive in the market place of ideas and ideals. Is Afrikanerdom vigorous and mature enough to meet this sort of challenge? Or can Afrikaners never wrench themselves away from their propensity for social engineering, for telling others where to live, do business, go to school?

This is the key to reform, to conciliation, to renewal and, finally, to the prospects for economic growth without which we will sink into the long, bitter night of the fight for survival.

We will inherit, not rising living standards, a new phenomenon on earth predicated on allowing free men to pursue their own ends which has transformed society; no, we will revert to the zero sum society where a man achieves only at the expense of his fellows. The advent of consumer capitalism in the West heralded the first time in the history of man that men could get rich by improving the lot of their fellows rather than diminishing it.

Henry Ford, for example, became rich by introducing mass transport to millions of people who had never before dreamed of such mobility. In the consumer age men made fortunes supplying the needs of ordinary men such as margarine, mass-produced synthetic clothing, and canned foods; what a contrast with the mercantile trade of earlier times when the trade was to the wealthy in spices, perfumes and exotic fabrics such as silk.

South Africa has this priceless heritage. It is an imperfect society but it has managed to emerge as an economic powerhouse in a continent better known for its economic basket cases. This country's potential to build a vast, thriving and multiracial consumer society is one of history's most exciting prospects. It can all be ours.

In the end, do we sacrifice all this for the survival of suiwer Afrikaans?
Or do we boldly strike out on a road to a broad, new, multiracial South Africanism?

I have no fear of being ruled by black men. I fear, and will fight against, being ruled by collectivists, whatever hue their skin might be. It is a nice irony that a thread of collectivism comes from both the extreme Left and the extreme Right--neither of them very much like the concept of the freedom of the individual.

A 10-year look down the road is not possible, Mr. Editor. All I can say is that if one stays in South Africa it is an act of faith. And if you judge a man, a company, a country by its record then it seems to me a fair bet that South Africa will reward that faith. But, by God, my faith is strained.

CSO: 3400/907

BISHOP OF PORT ELIZABETH ANALYZES EASTERN CAPE, NATIONAL TURMOIL

Cape Town LEADERSHIP SA in English [Special International Edition] Jan 86 pp 58, 61, 62

[Article by Right Reverend Bruce Evans]

[Text] "The most political centre in the Republic of South Africa". In conversation with some Americans in Washington, DC, earlier this year this statement was made about Port Elizabeth by an official in the Central Intelligence Agency. Most people in the Republic would agree with him. It is difficult to say why this is so, but possibly there are a number of reasons.

There is the history of the Eastern Cape. With its many wars between Boer and Xhosa and British and Xhosa, and the ultimate defeat of the Xhosa people, (due also to the famine caused by the slaughtering of cattle in obedience to false prophecy) the Xhosa people had to start dealing with Boer and Briton on a political level. Out of this has developed a distinct political characteristic in the make-up of a large proportion of the Xhosa people of the Eastern Cape.

The African National Congress was launched as a strong political party in 1912 in the little Karroo town of Cradock, some 250 kilometres from Port Elizabeth. No doubt related to this, political leaders came to the fore who have become household names in all South African political conversation. Sobukwe, Mandela, Biko, Goniwe, Calata, are but a few.

The strong Security Police presence in and around Port Elizabeth and their constant harassment of black people, particularly since 1976, has politicised a great many young blacks. A man said to me a few weeks ago: "If your door is battered at two o'clock in the morning and you open the splintered panel to have three policemen and a couple of soldiers force themselves into your house, you need nothing more to politicise you. They have done it in a matter of minutes."

Then, there are the appalling slums in which tens of thousands of black people are trying to live. Running water, like electricity, is a luxury in most townships. Sewerage is unknown in the older parts. The squatter population in Port Elizabeth alone is 120 000 and growing at a rate of 12 per cent a year, according to a University of Port Elizabeth report. Though I cannot substantiate

it, I have it on good authority that Mr Louis Rive was horrified at the living conditions he saw when he first visited Port Elizabeth about three years ago. Though in some parts there has been great improvement, in other areas, because of the increase in population, conditions have worsened.

Add to all this the fact that unemployment is higher in the Eastern Cape than anywhere else in the Republic and one can see the truth of the statement that Port Elizabeth is the most political centre in South Africa. According to a report of Vista University a couple of months ago, the figure for unemployment among blacks was 56 per cent. The vast retrenching of workers since then must have pushed that figure up considerably.

My own observation of the referendum among whites regarding the new constitution is that it made blacks more aware than ever of their "non-personhood" in a white-dominated country where discrimination is an entrenched factor.

Through their political awareness, the trade unions have been able to exert an influence in the community well beyond that of their industrial raison d'etre, working in close co-operation with civic organisations (as distinct from the almost irrelevant townships councils, many of which no longer exist in the rural areas). But differences of opinions that were reflected in unions of a black consciousness standpoint and those who hold non-racial ideas have brought antagonism and hostility between Azapo and United Democratic Front supporters. Clashes between the two groups are frequently reported, though more and more it is being noted that the trouble-makers between the groups are hooligan elements and some frequently referred to as "the Third Force". This latter group is alleged to consist of unemployed men paid by some outside source to intimidate one side or the other of the two political groups.

Within the conflict between the two parties has grown the horror of "peoples courts" when men, women or teenage children are summarily sentenced to death by "the necklace" (the putting of a tyre round a person's neck and setting him or her alight) if they are in any way suspected of supporting the system or informing or, in the case of women, making themselves available to policemen. These kangaroo courts have arisen in the community since the state of emergency was declared.

That declaration has had an enormous effect upon the people. In the first instance, the banning of legitimate organisations like Cosas where views could be expressed, and the detaining of hundreds of recognised community leaders has both angered the people, especially young people, and also allowed the hooligan element to come to the fore with the consequence that control is no longer so easy.

Under the state of emergency, families have been fragmented so that parents and young people no longer have a mutual understanding of each other. Parental authority is thus lost. The result is that harsh control is exercised by the police using quirts and tear-gas, rubber bullets and buckshot and sometimes real bullets.

So anger increases even if a lessening of violence in the community takes place. A recent report of the Institute of Race Relations states that the state of emergency has cut down conflict by 70 per cent). Actually, all that is done is that such conflict and violence is simply repressed, and so, because the fundamental causes of the conflict are not dealt with, the conflict will surface again in some other and possibly more violent way.

The presence of the South African Defence Force in the townships is resented with growing antagonism. And when military personnel exceeded their authority as is frequently alleged, the anger increases. A frightening observation is the hatred that blacks, especially young blacks, are forming for young whites because they are the ones who in many instances ruthlessly wield the authority and accompany the police on their 3.00 am "house calls".

For many years now there have been tough measures taken by the authorities against civic leadership and young people. So it is not surprising that long before the state of emergency young people were boycotting schools because of the patently discriminatory educational system. When there was a return to school for a short time this year, teachers said they found the youngsters unteachable because of their flouting of authority and accustomed freedom. Now the boycott continues and schools are closed, much to the dismay and heartache of parents who plainly see that a changed South Africa needs educated people.

Another boycott that began before the state of emergency and might have been called off long ago had the emergency not been declared is that of the consumer boycott. And how effective it has been!

It is evident that here in the Eastern Cape there is ability to quickly organise and achieve set goals, for only days after the boycott of white-owned shops was called, it was being effectively practised in Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Cradock and other little towns in the area. It was not long before small businesses were suffering. The result was that eventually groups of white business people in such places as Port Alfred, Cradock, East London and other towns organised meetings with black civic leaders. In Port Elizabeth the Chamber of Commerce sought on several occasions to meet with the boycott organisers. Unfortunately, whenever there is successful black pressure the police see fit to detain the black leadership thereby effectively removing the very people with whom to negotiate. So it was in Port Elizabeth, and at the time of writing the boycott continues, though there is hope of a temporary if not a permanent lifting of this peaceful protest.

An interesting development is the changing attitude of white business people. This is revealed in the motion brought to Assocom's annual Congress in October by the Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce. This motion calling for accelerated reform procedure, full participation of black leadership in constitutional negotiation, and constructive involvement by the private sector in political mediation, was unanimously adopted by the congress. In proposing the motion, one of the Port Elizabeth delegates, Mr Denis Creighton, clearly described the enormous problems that blacks face in competing with whites in a discriminatory society. "Consider the difficulty of competing on equal terms for promotion in a non-racial business organisation," he stated, "given an inadequate educational

background, an upbringing in an impoverished area and a return at close of business to a pre-determined, sub-standard 'township'." Then he asked, "how ever will we be able truly to harness the human potential of this country so long as freedom of choice in schooling, housing and social fields is prohibited by law?"

These things, together with a call for the total dismantling of apartheid, are what the young people of the townships have been saying for years.

Of all regions in the Republic, the Eastern Cape is most affected by the economic recession. With unemployment as high as it is and increasing all the time, a loss of confidence by black people in industry caused by the Ford Motor Company pulling out of Port Elizabeth, and the continued mistrust of industrial management in its relationship with trade unions, it is not surprising that hopelessness regarding real change by the government is the dominant attitude, and boiling anger the consequence. Add to this the exploitative role that commerce and industry has played for years in co-operating with and supporting government policies, thereby creating a grossly distorted capitalistic society, it is understandable that the capitalist system is spurned by the young black people.

In a country as fraught with problems as South Africa one would expect that good government would provide opportunity for those who are oppressed to express in meetings and through negotiation their points of view. Sociologists have said for years that the ways attempted in solving problems determines the approach to the problem and thus what happens to the problem. So when there is (euphemistically called) "unrest" in a situation and strong police action is used to quell it, violence escalates and the problem then takes on a scale that would never have been the case if talking had been the policy.

The tragedy of the Eastern Cape is the tragedy of South Africa--deafness in government.

The long established government policy of detention without trial, now, being implemented on a very large scale, has angered blacks and others even more and hardened their attitude to white interpretations of what is called "reform". Large-scale assault of detainees by police has always been believed and testified to. Under the state of emergency, and the resultant wholesale detention of hundreds of people, a flood of reports of alleged torture in detention have been brought forward. The interdict that recently was granted by Mr Justice Ecksteen restraining the police from assaulting detainees and which was argued in Court on November 26 is indicative of the widespread belief of people that there is substantial truth in what is alleged. Many see this interdict as a major advance in the beginning of a return to the Rule of Law.

Despite the divisions, confusion and anger among the people of the black townships both in the cities and in the rural areas, a ray of light is the growing renewal of confidence in the churches, particularly Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist. Churches are full on Sundays, and, even with the curfew, well-attended during the week. The interesting thing is the increasing number of young people attending the church services, sometimes nearly 50 per cent being

under 30 years of age. The reasons for this are not clear, but three factors are obviously related. The first is the clear lead given by church leaders in the socio-political dimensions of the Christian faith, often at risk to themselves. The second is the readiness of clergy in the townships, through the Interdenominational African Ministers' Association of Southern Africa, to fulfil a reconciling role and to be meaningfully relevant without compromising the gospel. The third factor is a recent Evangelistic Outreach to young people in the Port Elizabeth area by the national non-racial youth organisation, Youth for Christ. Working for months to cross all racial barriers in different areas, including the townships, it brought many hundreds of young people into a new experience of God through faith in Christ.

The black townships are the dominating feature in the unrest in the Eastern Cape. But the coloured community latterly is also having its troubles. In solidarity with pupils in the Western Cape, high school children in Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage have boycotted matriculation to the distress of parents. Students at the Teachers Training School boycotted examinations too. Ever since the introduction of the new constitution the coloured community has been very divided. Clubs, churches, families have been split. Emotions often run high. The educational chaos in the Western Cape overflowing into this part of the world has only exacerbated the problem of division among the people. The cry of some young people, "liberation first, education later", takes no cognisance of the consequences of such a radical position. Add this to the strong-handed attitude of the "Own Affairs" authorities, and you are left with a society so divided that extremists on both sides begin to behave with dangerous results. People have already been shot. The local press has written on a "Hit Squad". Clergy and other community leaders have been threatened. At this time it is difficult to know what developments there will be in the near future. That the negotiations between educationists and government should continue goes without saying, but somehow young peoples' frustrations in an apartheid society must be taken very seriously if there is to be any kind of peace.

With all the violence, frustration and anger in the black community, what of the whites?

Other than a few notable leaders and the change that has taken place among some business people as mentioned earlier, white people have withdrawn into a place of fear and hostility.

White are extremely ignorant of the oppression under which blacks suffer. Most have never been into a black township nor had a meaningful conversation with a black person. The system of apartheid has been very effective in keeping apart people of different races, and ignorance, fear, misunderstanding and indifference are the consequences. It is almost universally accepted by whites that the trouble in the townships is caused by agitators. But when people are deprived of what whites take for granted--sewerage, electricity, light, good roads, running water, good educational facilities, employment, adequate housing--they do not need anyone to tell them they are deprived and discriminated against. Even when knowing this, whites still persist in believing the propaganda lie. They so often seem to retreat into an apartheid hole and refuse to

listen to what is being said by authentic black leadership. They hear only what the government wants them to hear and are unaware of the breadth of political knowledge young black people have and of their total rejection of the apartheid system, so that talk of "reform" for them is a non-subject. Nor do whites realise the intensity of hatred black youth has for the very inadequate education with which they have had to contend. Their readiness to give their lives to eradicate apartheid, and their expectation of death, is frightening. Economic depression, however, is affecting white people, too, and a few are asking questions and seeking truthful answers.

The future in the Eastern Cape, wracked as it is by violence and counter violence, and weakened by a fast-waning economy, is unknown and fearful. The way ahead as in the rest of South Africa is going to be hard and long and there will be many casualties.

For many their true hope for the future is to be found in God.

CSO: 3400/907

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON SERIES OF BANNINGS

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 9 Jan 86 p 14

[Article by Gary van Staden]

[Text]

Fun runs, memorial services, concerts, television crews, photographers, dozens of meetings and organisations would seem to have little in common, yet all have displayed one general feature recently — all have been banned or restricted.

Freedom of association in South Africa is under threat as never before and anyone deemed by decree to be a threat to public peace is silenced and restricted in terms of the octopus-like Internal Security Act and emergency regulations — with little or no recourse to the courts.

Following the November 1 ban placed by Minister of Law and Order Mr Louis le Grange on television crews and news photographers in the emergency areas of South Africa the State has:

- Placed severe restrictions, which amount to a virtual banning order, on some detainees released from detention.
- Banned numerous funerals and limited the number of mourners allowed to attend.
- Extended the ban on all outdoor gatherings for another year.
- Banned all indoor meetings called to advocate school or student boycotts.
- Banned two annual student congresses, including the Nusas congress in Cape Town. The congress eventually took place in Durban.
- Banned a fun run for peace at Zoo Lake in Johannesburg.
- Banned a carol service in Athlone near Cape Town.
- Banned a rock concert at Hermanus.
- Banned the American CBS television network from entering any black areas around Cape Town. The ban was later lifted.
- Banned all meetings organised by any one of 74 organisations in 30 magisterial districts until June 30 this year. The organisations include the

United Democratic Front and the Azanian People's Organisation.

The number of banned people stood at 17 at the end of December, 10 in terms of the Internal Security Act and seven under the emergency regulations.

The banning orders vary, but generally mean that the person concerned is restricted to a certain magisterial district, may not partake in any activities of any trade union or organisation, may not write for any publication and is sometimes house arrested.

The latest State action came towards the end of December when Mr le Grange placed the sweeping six-month ban on meetings in 30 magisterial districts.

Most of the 74 organisations affected by the ban come from the Eastern Cape, but some were based in the Free State and Transvaal.

Any combination of organisation and magisterial district listed in the *Government Gazette* No 10055 of December 31 needs permission from the Minister of Law and Order or a magistrate before a meeting can go ahead.

The list of restricted organisations, especially in the Eastern Cape, has become so extensive that it is doubtful whether even local South African Police force members know which they are.

Apart from the general effects of the widespread bannings and restrictions on freedom of association in South Africa, the obvious result has been a massive increase in the number of organisations operating in the affected areas.

Obvious tactic

If, for example, the Adelaide Youth Congress is prohibited from organising or "convening, holding or otherwise bringing about..." a gathering in any of the listed areas, the obvious tactic is simply to alter its name.

Thus, again for example, the Adelaide Youth Council is quickly formed and as it is not listed in the *Government Gazette* it may legally organise meetings.

If that is banned or restricted then a new organisation springs to life with a new name and is once again legal.

And so the process goes on and on in an endless circle of banning and renaming and banning again.

As the PFP's spokesman on law and order, Mrs Helen Suzman, said: "It is all very futile."

Detaining the leadership of the organisations does not help either because there is an endless line of people ready and willing to take over and carry on as before.

The Government seems to gain little from the exercise of banning and restricting organisation after organisation. In fact, South Africa's international image is just further tarnished.

In addition, such heavy-handed Government actions give added credibility to the accusation both at home and abroad that the country is little more than a police state.

It is also very doubtful whether even with the help of the Army it is possible to monitor and enforce all the bans and restriction orders which emanate from Mr le Grange and State officials.

On the face of it many of the restrictions are more than "futile" and begin to enter the realm of absurdity — a waste of manpower and money.

But the bottom line is that the restrictions and bannings are remembered more as further erosions of basic freedoms in South Africa than they are for their effectiveness.

There is also growing concern over the use of restrictions in terms of the emergency regulations which, while amounting to a virtual banning order, are not officially listed as such in the *Government Gazette*.

The Detainees' Parents Support Committee said last November that the new tactic amounted to a "banning through the back door" and expressed concern that, unlike normal banning orders, the restrictions carried no time limit.

They are valid as long as the state of emergency is in force.

"These restrictions are very heavy," a DPSC representative said at the time.

"They do not differ much from a normal Internal Security Act banning order. Really it is a banning in another form," the spokesman added.

While a normal banning order also usually contains restrictions on being quoted or attending even a social gathering, the penalties for breaking the emergency regulation restrictions are more severe than those which apply to a banning order.

However, the major objection to all bannings restrictions and prohibitions on black political organisations and their meetings remains the erosion of the concept freedom of association.

And if — as the Government claims every time these measures are implemented — they are necessary to promote public peace then is it not time that those accused of threatening such peace be asked to defend the charge in a court of law?

/9274

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MINISTER COMMENTS ON NEED OF BUSINESS, CHURCH TO COOPERATE

Cape Town LEADERSHIP SA in English [Special International Edition] Jan 86 pp 108, 112, 115

[Article by Reverend Mvumelwano Dandala]

[Text] It is difficult to believe, but is it true. Young black people have come to realise that education is a delay-ing factor in the future of this land – or to be more specific in the liberation of the black people in South Africa.

To the chagrin of all experts on education matters, the logic of this belief turns out to be that, if apartheid education is geared to prepare people for a racially segregated society, and is in fact one of the corner-stones of apartheid, young people have no option but to dispense with it at whatever cost.

The cost, as we see daily, involves denying themselves educational opportunities through boycotts sustained over incredibly long periods. The boycott itself may be seen not only as an expression of anger and frustration, but also as a strategy to appeal for a change of heart.

Both these views present a powerful challenge to our society to realise the seriousness with which apartheid is viewed by the growing generation of leaders of our people. It would be very easy to dismiss the present deadlock by saying that one day – referring to the day when they will be needing good jobs – our young people will see the folly of their actions.

This would not only be a careless attitude, but also downright foolishness which fails to see that in the absence of conventional education, a new culture of education is allowed to develop, preparing us all for a society that will put no value on social standards generally associated with good education. Good education will of necessity create a high regard for human dignity, human life and one's natural environment. All these are areas where apartheid-based education fails miserably.

The South African society cannot afford to stand by

helplessly watching the government squandering the future of this land. The future is not the monopoly of the government and the government must not be allowed to believe this. In fact we are all guilty of having surrendered the future of our land and children to the government far too easily. If men, women and institutions of goodwill are not prepared to assume their responsibility in fashioning the future of this land as independently of the government as is possible, we will be forfeiting every right we had to criticise young people when they opt for "education boycotts" as a way forward.

Through every instance of black resistance to apartheid sponsored education, the people have made it clear that their objections are not aimed at education *per se*, but rather at the conscious intention of the nationalist government and its supporters to hijack and manipulate education and thus retain dominance over society. Unless this is realised and acknowledged, there will hardly be any significant moves made in the education arena. A number of progressive educationists and sponsors of education programmes tend to overlook or undermine the depth of repugnance against the intended and stated intention of apartheid education, to force people to:

- ☐ accept and idolise their separateness from others;
- ☐ draw tight boundaries around their ethnicity and define their lives from this premise and no other;
- ☐ be so prepared that they do not aspire to that which is "beyond" their "ethnic ambitions" and "achievements".

This in turn means that the vehicle through which the preparation is done must give no inspiration that may lift the eyes of individuals beyond their defined and prescribed heights. This means that:

- ☐ the inferior schooling facilities are by design – and not by accident;
- ☐ the low education subsidies are an inherent and inseparable part of the package deal;
- ☐ the low standard and inferior qualifications of the teachers are necessary for the system to work effectively.

For all this to happen the government has had no option but to devise tight control measures over the education system. It is imperative for anybody desiring to tackle the education crisis to realise that before finding ways of improving the inferior schooling facilities, encouraging technical education, and in fact making any significant contribution in the schooling arena, the link between apartheid and education has to be severed.

Arguments are often advanced by well meaning people that Dr H F Verwoerd's "Green Pastures" speech in 1953, setting the path for Bantu education and many other "educations" in apartheid society, is outdated and the present government is no longer working from that premise. It is claimed that improvements such as the increase in the number of technikons are all pointers that the "Green Pastures" speech is obsolete. The problem is in trying to convince people of this, whilst the infrastructure that these "educations" were meant to serve is still intact. The government cannot thus speak with credibility on education matters. People will not believe it, because of the total commitment to apartheid. The resistance that students have shown over the years leaves the government no option but to jettison education outright, and to allow other institutions to take it over.

The government seems to have a knack for doing things badly. Even an innocent and well meant move such as allowing the privatisation of education can be done so badly that the government might lose face in the process. But properly done this may turn out to be one of the major avenues for embarking on a very meaningful dialogue for the future, with nobody losing face in the process.

One of the major criticisms of the present government reform process is that there is no package deal for people to get their teeth into. There is no long term plan made available to people. The government wants people to join hands with it while it continues to play its cards close to the chest. Piecemeal reforms seem to drop from nowhere, and in turn are understandably perceived as means to yet again re-inforce apartheid. They show neither signs of repentance, nor determination to move boldly into the future, which in the education sphere is an area accepted by all parties to be crucial for the future.

The government could express its faith in its people through an active programme of privatisation. Such a move would be a declaration that in the long term, the plans of the government are for an open society. This move would be an acknowledgement that, all things being equal, the people of South Africa are not desirous of anarchy in the land. All the people will thus have been given an opportunity to take active initiative in programming for a free society in which they will live and work together. The government will have given itself a firm credible base from which it can then negotiate with the accepted political leaders of the black people of South Africa about the future of the land.

South Africa's politics have moved into a cul-de-sac that barely leaves room for any meaningful dialogue between the Nationalist Government and the black people. The prescription is for confrontation. However much we may try to convince ourselves that within the government system there are black people, like the homeland leaders and the black town councillors, with whom reasonable negotiations could be held and schemes embarked upon that will improve the lot of our people, their link with the apartheid system immediately erodes their credibility. Not only that but more often than not they find themselves unwittingly defending a system that is objectionable to their people.

In the arena of hard core politics, the only viable black opposition to the entire system is most apparent among the trade unions and the churches. On education matters it is the student organisations and again the churches, with the adults sometimes expressing their feelings through the trade unions. The teacher unions have been fairly subdued in their criticisms. Those homeland governments which have tried to be critical have fallen short in credibility. They are looked upon as furthering the original aim of the apartheid system anyway, because they end up with homeland systems of education.

Most interesting is the observation that the members of trade unions who express themselves clearly on an array of issues ranging from economics to education are in fact "homelanders". One needs to look at a union like the Mineworkers' Union and determine who makes up its membership. It will be found that they are people who may be assumed to be supporters of homeland leaders by virtue of being registered citizens of those homelands.

It thus becomes naive to seek to canvass only the official homeland opinion on issues such as education, and believe that one has the opinion of the people on these issues. These views have to be juxtaposed with the opinions of the same persons when they are in organisations independent of government structures such as the trade unions and the like. On the question of education there is a need for bodies that are not tied to the government's apron strings to pilot aggressive schemes that make an alternative to "apartheid educations" workable. This is the trend taking place in the black community and is illustrated in the rise of trade unionism.

This trend can be harnessed for a positive meaningful future. It does not have to deteriorate into a prescription for chaos. Private enterprise in South Africa has been and is continuing to be enriched by the exis-

tence of dynamic trade unionism. The bold moves of some elements within private industry to chart the future of South Africa, as demonstrated by the recent visit of businessmen to Lusaka, should not be seen outside the existence of a dynamic trade union movement that keeps private enterprise awake to the needs of our people. The integrity of private enterprise now and in the future is tied up with its acceptance of an open society, which within their context means trade unionism. In the same vein a primary issue such as education, although it cannot be entirely de-politicised, must be taken up by independent institutions and set free of clique ideologies in order to nurture people who will make history, rather than be made by history against their will.

A major issue such as education needs solid support systems. There is reason to believe that a partnership between the church and private enterprise would be most suitable for this project. A number of years ago, the churches found themselves in a position where they had to relinquish the responsibility for mission schools primarily on the basis of economics. Virtually all the churches claim that it was the unwillingness of the government to subsidise "private" black education that forced them to give up their responsibilities towards education.

In fact the feeling is that the government used its economic advantage to break the churches' involvement in education. This in turn explains why the schools belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, and to a lesser extent the Anglican and the Congregational churches, were never surrendered to the government. The Catholic Church specifically had built a strong infrastructure for providing financial support to its education programme. The other churches seem to have contented themselves with playing a caretaker role until the time when the government could take over. Otherwise it is difficult to find an explanation for their lack of drive in providing for a long term programme.

However much the churches had tried to resist the take over by the government, only those who had planned to retain their programmes on a long term basis could successfully stick to their guns. Some of the churches, rather lamely, exonerated themselves by claiming that the black parents agitated for the hand-over simply because they could not afford to finance private education. Although there must be a measure of truth in this, one cannot absolve the churches of their responsibility to analyse the social situation in which such a desperate surrender was taking place.

Those Catholic schools that have now committed themselves to providing common education irrespective of racial and/or class differences are consciously

trying to overcome the high fees factor, by establishing all sorts of means for subsidising education.

Despite all efforts, it is very difficult to overcome the elitist image of these schools. The same predicament extends to a few schools that have been sponsored purely by private enterprise. In fact the debate in private enterprise circles seems to be between establishing more private schools in the mould of those that are often looked at by blacks as elitist. In a number of instances the supporting private companies tend to so overrate the importance of their involvement that they often end up thinking that such involvement can help in dismantling apartheid. Not many black people believe this. In fact such companies are surprised when their cherished assistance is reduced to ashes together with the apartheid schools. Caught in the bind of these two options, there has been very little evidence of initiative to break the stalemate and create new avenues.

The government on the other hand has shown hardly any imagination in its handling of this crisis. There are hardly any satisfactory innovations from its side. Its style now is to wait until any single crisis dies down, so that it can carry on where it left off, until the next crisis. In 1976 we experienced a major upheaval in education, in 1981 we experienced another, and now in 1985 we have gone through yet another. I would be surprised if the government was not ready at this stage to allow anybody interested to take over the education programmes, with a carrot of reasonable subsidies to those who dare tackle the problems.

If the government is not ready yet, the church in South Africa must, on an ecumenical basis and in partnership with organised commerce now forge ahead, having strong faith on their commitment to a free society. Together they must develop education avenues, schooling facilities that will be available to the community at large. They must invite the government to relinquish to them schools in townships, in rural areas and in the suburbs on a clearly worked out time-table. On this basis any chance of these schools becoming elitist would be minimised. This is an offer the government would surely find difficult to refuse.

Who then would work out the thrust of this programme? Although organised commerce and the churches would provide the support systems of this programme, people from various strata of society would have to be consulted extensively to run in the programme in an acceptable manner. The path em-

barked upon by some individual entrepreneurs by going to Lusaka would have to be walked a little more frequently, with the right wing element borne in mind too. Bridge building would become a dynamic programme in our society.

Both the church and organised commerce would have to rid themselves of pre-suppositions that have now and again rendered them suspect. If we are talking about a free society, the church would have to be careful that it did not use these schools as a platform for its evangelism programmes. Equally, organised commerce must be wary not to use this as an opportunity to increase its labour resources. In other words we would need to be careful that these schools were not geared to simply produce more church ministers, or simply a more sophisticated workforce for industry. They must produce free thinkers who will be equipped to weigh and create.

The two institutions which have a laudable history of involvement in education matters and, which despite their vulnerabilities stand a fair chance of saving the future of this land, the church and organised business must now join forces and create opportunities for the country's children to grow together and united build the future of this land.

SACC SUPPORTS 'GRAND ALLIANCE' IN PRINCIPLE

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 13 Jan 86 p 4

[Article by Andrew Thomson]

[Text] The South African Council of Churches says it supports the principle of the African National Congress's reported call for a "grand alliance" of anti-government groups, but believes that the initiative for such an alliance should come from "the authentic Black leadership inside the country".

The general secretary of the SACC, Dr Beyers Naude, told THE CITIZEN yesterday that an internal initiative was necessary if the proposed alliance was to "receive the necessary weight and support from the community as a whole".

A Sunday newspaper has attributed the alliance proposal to unnamed "senior ANC leaders" in Lusaka.

"I have heard that the idea of political alignment has been raised in circles of the United Democratic Front and the Congress of South African Trade Unions," said Dr Naude, "but as far as I know none of these bodies has as yet officially considered such an alignment."

"The SACC, in its concern for peace with justice and for true reconciliation, would support any genuine effort to achieve such a goal."

Banned

The chairman of the National Convention Movement's management committee, Mr Jules Browde, said it could not align itself with the ANC while the ANC was a banned organisation.

"The NCM has as its aim a national convention, and for a national convention to be meaningful it has to include the ANC," said Mr Browde.

"That is why we have called for the unbanning of the ANC. Until it's unbanned we will not be able to align with it. If, as reports suggest, the ANC is calling for a negotiated settlement, the Government should do everything it possibly can to bring that about."

Not Known

The national chairman of the Progressive Federal Party and MP for Sea Point, Mr Colin Eglin, reacting in his personal capacity, said he knew nothing about an ANC-backed alliance proposal.

"I pride myself on usually knowing what's going on, but this is the first I've heard of it."

The leader of the PFP, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, could not be located yesterday.

All those interviewed by THE CITIZEN had no knowledge of the ANC's proposal, except what they had read in one of the Sunday newspapers.

The report said the ANC proposal was aimed at the PFP, the SACC, the UDF. Cos-tau and "sympathetic homeland leaders".

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GOVERNMENT'S DESIGNS FOR KWANDEBELE HOMELAND CRITICIZED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Jan 86 p 16

[Article by Allister Sparks]

[Text] Somebody please explain why, at a time when the Government is trying to persuade the world that it is moving away from apartheid, it is going to such extraordinary lengths to launch another independent "homeland" in KwaNdebele.

Why, at a time when it is trying to persuade the world that it has stopped forced removals, it is forcing 120,000 people in the adjoining tribal territory to become part of that prospective state against their will.

And why, at a time when the country is grappling with widespread racial unrest which has resulted in more than 1 000 deaths and led to the declaration of a state of emergency, Pretoria has gratuitously created a new trouble spot in a previously placid area.

Annexation

At least 21 people, including two policemen, have died so far in the clashes that have been sparked off by the forced annexation of Moutse. It has given South Africa another spate of bad publicity abroad. And a once deeply conservative tribal community has been radicalised.

A few years ago a couple of ANC insurgents turned up in Moutse. They were punced on by the local community, trussed up with wire, loaded in a truck and driven to the police station at Bronkhorstpruit.

Today if more insurgents were to turn up there, the chances are they would be given the warmest of welcomes--such is the level of fury which the Government's action has generated among these easy-going folk whose ancestors have been living on that land for more than two centuries.

Godfrey Mathebe is typical of the kind of conservative leadership the Moutse community once had. He was deeply respectful of the local chief. He accepted the "homeland" system and was a member of the Lebowa Parliament.

Detained

In other words, Mr Mathebe was part of the Government's administrative system. He is what the young black radicals disparagingly call a "system black", a collaborator, the kind of person who has been a primary target during the past 16 months of unrest.

Last weekend Mr Mathebe was detained under the Internal Security Act. I met him a few days before his detention and found him to be an angry, bitter, disillusioned man. The radicals now regard him as an ally.

Do the policy planners in Pretoria imagine they have served South Africa's interests by turning the conservative Mr Mathebe into a radical?

Has the future survival of the Afrikaner nation been made more secure by the alienation of 120 000 conservative black people living just north of Pretoria?

For that matter, has the future stability of the independent state of KwaNdebele been promoted by the forced inclusion of 120 000 grievously disaffected inhabitants, more than a third of the "homeland's" total population?

I would like someone to give me one sensible reason for what has been done. The annexation does not even make sense in terms of the Government's own ideology. The people of Moutse are Sotho-speaking members of the Pedi tribe.

According to the logic of apartheid's insistence on ethnic compartmentalisation, they should form part of the North Sotho "homeland" of Lebowa.

But the Government has removed them from Lebowa and forced them to join the "homeland" for the Ndebele, with whom they have no ethnic or linguistic compatibility whatsoever.

Why?

For that matter, the whole of KwaNdebele makes little sense according to the Government's own criteria of ethnicity and "tradition".

Fewer than half its population are Ndebeles, and more and more non-Ndebeles are being forced to join it.

As for "tradition", it is questionable whether there is any part of the Transvaal which can legitimately be regarded as a traditional Ndebele "homeland".

Plundered

The Ndebeles were a marauder tribe who broke away from Shaka's Zulus and plundered the Transvaal for a few brief, bloody years before Hendrik Potgieter's Trekkers drove them across the Limpopo into what is today the Zimbabwean province of Matabeleland. That is there "homeland". They never set down roots in the Transvaal.

To establish a traditional "homeland" for the scattered remanants who remained here is a travesty. KwaNdebele is a wholly artificial creation.

It was formed by buying up 19 white farms, building an instant capital called Siyabuswa, finding a compliant member of the Ndebele tribe named Simon Skosana who was willing to play ball, making him Chief Minister of a nominated legislative assembly, then, on his say-so, declaring that the "people" of KwaNdebele had opted for independence.

All of which we must presumably regard as "moving away from apartheid".

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